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ABSTRACT

This booklet, the third in a series of five on the current state of citizen education, examines the role of business and labor in citizen education. The first half of this booklet consists of a paper on the union role in citizen education. Based on the contributions of participants attending a conference on ways in which labor unions contribute to citizen education, this paper discusses the goals of industrial democracy and ways in which unions foster political knowledge and skills. This discussion concludes with a set of recommendations for strengthening labor education. The remainder of this booklet contains a paper which presents the results of several workshops dealing with the role of business in citizen education. This paper discusses the stake of business in citizen education and includes an analysis of numerous corporate activities related to politics, economics, and public service. Several commentaries on the issues raised by these papers are appended. (EM)

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EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE WORKPLACE IN CITIZEN EDUCATION

CE 018 715

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FOREWORD

Some educators interested in the development of civic competencies believe that businesses and labor unions contribute to this process. The institutions of work exert influences in political and civic life, offer training programs and curriculum materials on economics and politics, and provide models of decisionmaking which may be transfered to aspects of public life.

To clarify the role, purpose, and activities of business and labor in citizen education, the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) sponsored several workshops in the fall of 1977. Under the direction of the Human Resources Network, business representatives with an interest in corporate social responsibility programs met to consider citizen education issues. Their paper provides a discussion by and for business about its stake in citizen education. It includes an analysis of numerous corporate activities related to politics, economics, and public service.

Also under USOE auspices, the University and College Labor Education Association convened a group of university and labor union educators and trade union personnel to examine ways in which labor unions contribute to citizen education. The participants' paper discusses the goals of industrial democracy and ways in which unions foster political knowledge and skills. The paper concludes with a set of recommendations.

Over past decades, isolation has been growing between the worlds of work and education. With recent interest in career education and lifelong learning, as well as a desire to mobilize disparate resources to provide sorely needed funds, there is new interest in developing collaboration among the schools, business, and labor. Yet at the same time, some educators are fearful that such group efforts may lead to special interest pleading while business and labor, in turn, suspect the objectivity of educators. For an excellent discussion of some of these problems, see "Crucial

Issues Pertaining to the Establishment of Community-Education Work Councils," by John J. Walsh, in Industry-Education Community Councils: NIE Papers in Education and Work No. 9, December 1977.

To provide additional insights and a range of views on issues raised by these papers, we asked several people for critical comments. We have incorporated many of their remarks as footnotes in the text, and printed, in full, papers with significantly more detailed comments than could appear in excerpts.

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the workshop organizers and participants who grappled with a term - citizen education - which was not well known to them. Their names appear in Appendixes A and B. Arthur Fox, Sheila Harty, Edward Glaser, Paul Barton, Francis Macy, and Barbara Wertheimer contributed hard-hitting comments. Karen Dawson, Ann Maust, Larry Rothstein, and Judy Taggart provided valuable advice and editorial assistance.

Prepared by the USOE Citizen Education staff, this paper is one in a series designed to help raise issues and provide information about the current state of citizen education. Others in the series include:

- Key Concepts of Citizenship: Perspectives and Dilemmas
- New Directions in Mass Communications Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation
- An Analysis of the Role of the U.S. Office of Education and Other Selected Federal Agencies in Citizen Education
- Citizen Education Today: Developing Civic Competencies
- Citizen Education and the Future
- Citizen Participation: Building a Constituency for Public Policy

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The Union Role in Citizen Education

Proceedings of a Conference

University and College Labor Education Association

George Meany Center for Labor Studies

Silver Spring, Md.

November 1977

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INTRODUCTION

Trade unions are a major institutional force in the United States. Since the passage of the National Labor Relations or Wagner Act in 1935, they have grown to represent 22 million Americans in most major industries and nonmanagerial and professional occupations.

There are close to 200 national and international organizations classified as unions, and more than 65,000 locals, State councils, and regional organizations. These union organizations are located in all sections of the country, and in every State in the Union.

Unions provide opportunities for citizen education in two ways: (1) through participation in industrial citizenship, i.e., activities and responsibilities associated with the workplace; and (2) through specific educational and other programs designed to enhance the citizenship skills of labor members.

This paper will explore both of these ways of approaching citizen education, as well as offer recommendations for new programs to expand the responsibilities and capabilities of unions in this area.

CITIZEN EDUCATION THROUGH UNIONS

Union membership can provide opportunities for citizen education in four distinct settings. These are:

1. The workplace -- job citizenship
2. The internal union government -- organizational citizenship
3. The public -- community and political citizenship
4. The individual -- personal citizenship

Although organizational, community and political, and personal citizenship opportunities are available through other institutions, labor organizations alone in American society make possible the exercise of responsible citizenship at the workplace.

The Workplace -- Job Citizenship

Every relationship between employees and employers addresses itself to the basic questions:

- What are the rules on wages, hours, and other items of employment?

- Who makes the rules? How are they made?

- Who enforces the rules? How are they enforced?

These questions will arise as long as there are organizations of people producing goods and services. Organization implies hierarchy; i.e., some have the authority to give orders which others find more or less legitimate to obey within the context of a system of rewards and penalties.

Citizenship cannot be exercised in such an arrangement, however, unless workers are organized.

It is the essence of citizenship that it cannot be conferred. Instead, it must be grasped and held. Many non-organized employees are treated like citizens, but the scope and tenor of that treatment consists of options which employers alone possess.

Top managers may honestly believe that treating their workers decently is good business practice, or that consulting more openly with managers down the line in the decisionmaking process is sound human relations strategy. But such unilateral generosity is tenuous and may not survive the next change of chief executive, of corporate structure, of product, or of labor market.

The executive holds the initiative -- as he gives, so can he take away -- and the employee adjusts or departs. To the extent that freedom is a function of options, the citizen options left to the non-organized employee are to appeal to law or to leave the firm.

Certainly there is legislation -- occupational safety and health, employee retirement insurance, equal

employment opportunity -- that is intended to protect every employee at the workplace. But individual resources are rarely sufficient to move Government to enforce such legislation or to compel the employer to comply with the law.

Among American employees only union members, by legal right and organizational power, share as equals the responsibility for making and administering the rules by which they work. Both Federal and State labor relations laws recognize the right of workers to form unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. These laws, however, are not self-implementing; groups of workers still have to organize themselves in order to enjoy and exercise that right. They must demonstrate sufficient political power to gain certification as bargaining agents through elections conducted by the Government's labor relations agencies. Once certified, they must then be able to apply sufficient economic pressure to gain consideration for their demands in the collective bargaining process.

Collective bargaining illustrates how industrial citizenship works. It is an attempt to resolve the problems of orders, rewards, and penalties through mutual agreement of the parties directly concerned. Collective bargaining implies that employees are represented by labor organizations free to set their own strategies and goals without interference from either employers or governments, and are strong enough, in terms of membership and financial resources, to deal effectively with management. Millions of Americans in the construction, mining, manufacturing, service, and transportation industries have achieved this status. Many in public and professional employment are moving in this direction.

In addition, collective bargaining represents an exercise in industrial democracy. Workers (1) elect representatives to negotiate with employers the rules of employment (legislation), (2) share the responsi-

bility for applying these rules at work (administration) and (3) have access to an appeals process through which disputes over application of rules to particular cases are heard and adjudicated (jurisprudence). Collective bargaining has transformed the employment relationship from one that was autocratic to one that is constitutional and democratic. Union members are not subjects but citizens on the job.*

Whenever union members believe that a collective bargaining agreement has been violated, they have the right to protest, in an orderly way, without fear of reprisal. This is industrial free speech. For example, changes in production schedules normally trigger a succession of job promotions, transfers, demotions, layoffs, or re-hires. Whatever the shifts in job status, union members have the right to insist that jobs will be assigned according to the set of rules specified in the contract that apply to all members equally (for example, seniority). In the event of disputes, workers consult their shop representatives (stewards) to determine whether the facts of the case warrant an appeal for redress. Access to this grievance procedure secures due

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*The civil rights which union members have achieved on the job are extended by law to all workers in a given bargaining unit, members and nonmembers alike. This is the heart of the union security issue, with unions insisting that since all receive benefits, all should contribute to the support of the union. Edward Glaser explains the position of those who oppose such support: "Some nonmembers are not members because they may disagree strongly with certain union objectives, tactics, the way they perceive the given union to be run, etc. In terms of a freedom of choice principle, should those who are opposed either to a particular union or unions in general be forced to pay dues and operate under the rules of an outside-the-company agent whose 'help' in obtaining presumed benefits they didn't request?"

process in the workplace and promotes a sense of equity and fair play.*

The Internal Union Government -- Organizational Citizenship

The structure of the American labor movement provides two arenas for the practice of organizational citizenship. The first is a national union, such as the Steelworkers or Teamsters, which charters local units to which members belong; the second is a federation or central body, such as the AFL-CIO.

National unions have traditionally been organized along craft (electricians, plumbers, operating engineers) or industrial (steel, auto, coal) lines. These unions' internal governments reflect their industrial environment -- the product and labor markets. More concentrated industries usually lead to centralized union governments whereas less concentrated industries produce decentralized union governments.

National unions are essentially political organizations. They create constitutions which spell out the legislative, administrative, and judicial procedures by which the members govern themselves. They establish a network of representation reaching from the workplace to the regularly scheduled national union conventions (where resolutions regarding collective bargaining and political and social goals are debated and adopted as union policy). Participation and access to these organizational activities are open to all members.

Internally, a national union must mediate the inevitable competing interests of its constituencies. In formulating collective bargaining policy, for example, it must be sensitive to the often conflicting

*For a different perspective on the collective bargaining process, see the comments by Arthur Fox, in Appendix D.

demands of old vs. new members, minority vs. white, male vs. female, skilled vs. semi-skilled. Each national union seeks compromises that preserve the unity and integrity of the organization. The side that gets the most votes rules -- at least until the next election.

National unions are prey to the same bureaucratic ills as are other large organizations. Recent Federal legislation has intervened to prescribe some of the terms of the electoral process and to review the conduct of union office. Implementation of the law, however, still requires the initiative of responsible organizational citizenship at the grass roots within local union memberships.

The second arena of internal citizenship accessible to union members is that of labor federations, i.e., unions of unions. Local unions, for instance, can opt to affiliate directly with a city, a county, or a State labor council; national unions can affiliate directly with a national federation like the AFL-CIO. Whatever the geographic level, the major function of these central bodies is to represent the legislative, political, and community interests of their affiliates. The AFL-CIO thus presses for labor law reform on behalf of its affiliated national unions whose collective bargaining efforts are hindered by existing law. Not all national unions, most notably the Auto Workers, Teamsters, and Mine Workers, belong to the AFL-CIO. However, they often reinforce the efforts of AFL-CIO affiliates in the pursuit of common political and community objectives.*

*In Appendix D, Arthur Fox presents another view of organizational citizenship.

The Public -- Community and Political Citizenship

Labor sees a logical progression from citizenship on the job to citizenship in the community. Members may bring to the workplace problems which are rooted in circumstances outside the plant gates; hence, labor's concern for the equality of services represented by community health, welfare, and recreation agencies, and by State and Federal social programs.

Characteristically, labor provides opportunities for its members to assume their roles as citizens in their communities. Labor normally has five major objectives in its community activities. First is the improvement of the "general public" welfare. To make wages achieved through collective bargaining go as far as possible, labor wants the community, including business and industry, to pay a larger share of local services.

The second is the establishment of an equitable distribution of community services. Third is the acceptance by the community of the importance of unions, a demand for status and equality with business and other interest groups. The fourth is the development of a positive public image, or at the least, the negation of anti-union attitudes. And the fifth is the creation of union representation on important community agencies.

The principal vehicle for labor involvement in the community has been the AFL-CIO Community Services program. This program, which is run cooperatively with non-affiliated unions like the UAW, advances the proposition that a union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community and is responsible for making his community a good place to live, work, play, and raise children.

Further, unions have a responsibility for the health and welfare of members and their families which extends beyond the work place. This includes not only emergencies caused by strikes, unemployment, or disaster, but

personal and family needs. Such needs can be addressed through establishing and maintaining social service agencies with trained personnel and facilities capable of delivering services where needed.

Funding for these programs comes partially through monies raised by local United Way or community fund drives. Labor leadership is usually prominent in heading up these fund raising efforts. Full-time labor staff representatives on community fund agencies help make the connection between needy union members and agencies which provide service. Organizations specializing in such areas as legal aid, family and child services, crippled or retarded children, senior citizen problems, alcoholism, and mental health problems are just some of the agencies which can be used for referral or emergency assistance. Union staff representatives frequently use referrals to community agencies to defend a union member facing severe discipline or discharge resulting from some on-the-job problem brought on by a personal crisis.

Presently, over 200 labor community services staff members serve in nearly 170 communities throughout the Nation. Over 100,000 local union community services counselors have been trained as volunteers in a referral or intervention network for union members in need of help. Community services programs then complement the protections and benefits secured for union members through collective bargaining.

Labor representatives also serve on the state and national boards of organizations like the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, and National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and thus have an impact on their policies. Not underestimating the political ramifications of labor's community services program, Joseph Beirne, longtime chairman of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, said of the program "Perhaps through its role as a 'people's lobby', advancing a broad range of interests and goals through the political, legislative, and social welfare activities, labor can serve as a spokesman for all people."

Labor has also been represented since the 1960's on community boards created by the Federal Government. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs established community action boards or councils. The Model Cities Act called for elected neighborhood task forces and citizens' community councils. The Revenue Sharing Act required similar citizen representation instruments.

Labor functionaries have served on these boards and have involved themselves in major institutional responsibilities. In 1966, for instance, the Cincinnati Central Labor Council placed representatives on the OEO-created Metropolitan Community Action Board. Out of this representation came union-sponsored job training programs for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Union representatives were also trained to help residents of working class neighborhoods articulate their needs to city government.

In addition to these community activities, labor was involved in plans during the 1960's to form community or neighborhood unions of low income people based on a trade union model. This effort was launched by the Industrial Unions Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO. The program had mixed success, because of conflict with civic rights groups, the difficulty of mobilizing low income people, and tactics that were more combative than constructive. Yet, it was one of the most creative endeavors of labor in the post World War II era.

Because public policy impinges upon labor's collective bargaining relationships, its effort to achieve democratic self-government within its own organizations, and its programs to improve the quality of community services, labor has developed opportunities for members to be involved in political activity on behalf of the union movement. Labor designs its own legislative and political programs to express its needs and concerns to the largest American polity.

Its political action programs engage members in the nuts and bolts of election campaigns: registration and

get-out-vote drives; publication of voting records and other election issues materials; coalitions with sympathetic interest groups; financial and personnel support for endorsed candidates; and the raising of voluntary funds to pay for all these activities.

Labor's representatives also act as lobbyists to furnish information and technical assistance, to appear before legislative committees, and to garner the necessary votes to pass or defeat specific measures. And at the executive level, labor seeks a voice in the appointment of administrators who are sensitive to union concerns, particularly such matters as collective bargaining, union government, social services, and the relationship of labor to other institutions in American society.*

The Individual -- Personal Citizenship

Although labor organizations present multiple opportunities for the exercise of citizenship, many union members do not take advantage of them. Some are engaged for brief spans of time (they may prefer to use the citizenship skills they acquired as unionists in situations and groups outside the labor structure); some have dedicated their full adult lives to union citizenship roles.

Whether the state of citizenship is any more or less robust in unions than in society as a whole is perhaps a serious topic for extended research. Meanwhile, the point is that the labor movement in a sense, offers an alternative society. Its collective bargain-

*Arthur Fox, seeking to place in perspective the citizenship concerns of union officials, believes "It is important to recall that union officials are typically concerned first about the union as an institution, then about the welfare of their members, and finally about the welfare of the entire political community."

ing agreements promise a measure of security and stability in a turbulent job world. Its organizations offer a focus on personal reference and identification in an otherwise atomistic society. Its programs furnish opportunities to acquire knowledge, to develop interpersonal and leadership skills, to examine attitudes, and to gain peer recognition.

For those who take part the unexpected discovery of self can be exhilarating. As a black hospital worker exclaimed when she tasted victory after an organizing drive in her native South, "I am Somebody." Developing somebodies is one of the things the labor movement is about.*

UNION CITIZENSHIP PROGRAMS

The citizen education programs which are conducted by and for labor organizations are offered within a larger framework of workers' education. This form of adult education began in this country in 1921 with the establishment of Brookwood Labor College and the founding of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. Brookwood Labor College was short-lived, but the Bryn Mawr School has left an indelible imprint on worker education.

M. Carey Thomas, then president of Bryn Mawr, enlisted the aid of Hilda Worthington Smith, who was a

*Barbara Wertheimer has conducted research aimed at discovering barriers to participation. Of union participation, she found "that obstacles such as family responsibility were shared by men and women (though they proved more of a barrier for women). Women, far more than men, however, lacked self-confidence and feelings of competency, and wanted labor studies and leadership training. We also discovered that initial union activity almost always led members to deeper involvement and interest in participating."

dean at the college. At Miss Thomas' behest, Miss Smith created a truly remarkable program for women workers. Guided by the principles of self-government that characterized Bryn Mawr, she created a school that was in itself an exercise in citizen education. All decisions about the school were made by a committee composed of an equal number of worker-students and educators.

Miss Smith was also aware that the teaching methods would have to be adjusted to the needs of the students. Many of the students had not progressed beyond the sixth grade in formal schooling, many were from immigrant families and spoke English as a second language. Therefore, classes were kept small; discussion was considered more valuable than lectures. The unnecessary use of large words or pedantry was avoided.

Creative teaching and unusual methodologies were encouraged. The student's practical experience was considered in discussions, and in many cases, was held to be as important as the academic viewpoint. Teaching material had to be relevant to the life experience of the workers. And to win their respect, the program had to be pragmatic and readily applicable to the circumstances in which the workers found themselves. There were no grades or examinations. Alternatives to these more traditional methods of evaluation were sought and found.1/

In 1933 Miss Smith was asked by Harry Hopkins to come to Washington to set up a program in workers' education which would train unemployed teachers to teach in the programs. This effort is best described by Miss Smith herself.

> The training centers ran on for 2 years and then were closed. These 2,000 teachers were then placed in 35 States. The States put in supervisors, and the teachers were in every kind of wage-earning group, in union halls with migratory workers, in settlements, in church halls, and all over the country, with the sharecroppers, with rural and

industrial workers, and white collar workers. And the activities were many and varied. There were not only classes; there were information centers with long lines of people waiting to ask questions about various phases of their industrial problems, consumer's problems. There were art workshops; there were drama workshops; there were classes in labor journalism, in public speaking, in parliamentary law. All the tool subjects which workers desired to study were offered under this program, and there were over two million people in the classes and in these activities as reported by the States.2/

Miss Smith described her vision of workers' education this way:" A dim conception of the labor movement of the future hovered in my mind -- a movement whose leaders, educated for new purposes, would be concerned not only with the bitter struggle for union recognition...but also with the wide social responsibilities; with enrichment of life for the individual and the community."3/

In this vision she conceived the basic curriculum as follows: "I always thought of it in four parts: the worker and his industry (the background of the industry, wages, hours, the conditions of work); the worker and his union; the worker and Government (the laws which affect industry); and the worker as an individual, as a citizen in the community."4/

Many universities continue to sponsor programs of their own and to follow Miss Smith's precept in forming labor advisory committees and maintaining student involvement in developing and implementing the program. And her formulation of the basic content and structure of workers' education continues to be useful for our current discussion.

Today, workers' education takes place in one or more of four basic settings:

1. Local or international unions offer programs cooperatively through a university or college. In these

cases, the cost is met by the union although there is often some form of State subsidy which helps to support the program. The program is planned jointly by the union and the sponsoring educational institution.

2. International unions plan programs for their own membership.

3. State and county central bodies offer programs often with the aid of educational institutions. These programs focus on political education since the central bodies are fundamentally concerned with local, State, and national elections. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) operates through these central bodies (the UAW operates through similar CAP Councils).

4. The AFL-CIO itself operates two separate educational programs: (1) the George Meany Labor Studies Center in Silver Spring, Md., offers a wide variety of subjects ranging from art appreciation to labor law, and provides college credit through a cooperative program with Antioch College; and (2) the Department of Education of the AFL-CIO prepares materials for those who work in labor education, maintains a film library, teachers affiliates' programs, and conducts conferences and special programs.

The United Auto Workers' Education Department plays a comparable role for that organization and operates a Family Educational Center at Black Lake, Mich.

Rather than present an exhaustive description of the citizen education efforts in each of these programs, it is most...useful to describe how a program operates in each of the four settings of citizenship discussed earlier.

The Workplace -- Job Citizenship

Local unions or international unions, frequently in cooperation with a university or college, offer programs to their membership in shop steward training. A typical course includes a brief description of the conditions under which labor unions were first formed and

developed, an analysis of the collective bargaining relationship, and the study of a union contract. The course usually assists the student in identifying the rights and obligations of the workers on the job. Shop steward training also helps the students to understand grievance procedures and spells out methods for settling disputes which arise on the job under the terms of an existing contract.

The Internal Union Government -- Organizational Citizenship

One of the best examples of citizen education in this area is the Union Leadership Academy (ULA) courses in trade union administration and labor leadership. The ULA seeks to promote the responsibility of the worker as a union member, a citizen, and a leader. It helps the worker acquire analytical skills in the social sciences and attempts to acquaint the union member with structure and problems of the economy, public and union government, and society so that he can better understand the role the labor movement can play in helping to create a better life for all working people.

Since its founding in 1935, thousands of workers, from many occupations and with union status ranging from full-time staff member to rank-and-file activist have attended ULA classes.

The Academy was created as a joint venture of District 4, International Union of Electrical Workers, and Rutgers University. ULA now actively involves three universities (Pennsylvania State, Rutgers, and West Virginia University), three departments of the AFL-CIO, and some 12 unions. Cornell University and the University of Connecticut are also affiliated.

At present, there are 25 ULA centers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, each offering the Academy's eight-term curriculum.

A similar program in South Florida is sponsored by the Palm Beach County Federation of Labor in cooperation with the university system of Florida.

The Public -- Community and Political Citizenship

City and county union bodies along with their State federation attempt ambitious programs in citizen education through the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. The AFL-CIO also conducts programs of national scope in this area. For example, the AFL-CIO has recently undertaken a national campaign to promote public understanding of the necessity for labor law reform.

Affiliated international unions conduct their own programs of citizen education in areas of public policy of concern to their members. An excellent example of this type of program is provided by the United Steelworkers of America. District 7 of the USWA brings groups of members to Washington for an educational program and an opportunity to meet with and discuss areas of concern with their congressional representatives and senators.

The Individual -- Personal Citizenship

Personal citizenship education programs offered by unions and by unions and universities provide the student with skills which enhance his or her participation in a variety of community areas. One such program offered at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies offers a practical understanding of public relations to men and women who speak for their labor organization.

Other programs are directed at minority groups, youth, women, and senior citizens. For example, Rutgers has a special program conducted in Spanish in labor education for Spanish-speaking minorities. The AFL-CIO Department of Education has created a series of regional programs aimed at the under-30 trade union member which discusses his community, labor relations, and collective

bargaining concerns. The AFL-CIO has also developed a national Human Relations Development Institute with regional, State and city branches, to assist the disadvantaged, the underemployed, and veterans. This institute helps the individual obtain skills and understanding of the work process and society in order to increase his or her chances of obtaining and keeping a job.

Unions have also initiated programs of education in the schools and with various community groups.*

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*Paul Barton suggests a need for collaboration among labor, management, and schools: "Currently, an inadequate job is done in public education of transmitting to youth an understanding of the economic system. Little is told about either the way modern industry grew out of the industrial revolution, or about the role unions have played in shaping the present. Curriculum developers, working with a labor-management committee, could add rich material to a course on economic education. Students learn little about the present realities of the economic system in large part because educational institutions are so isolated from the workplace. Collaborative efforts among labor, management, and educators should strive to get teachers and counselors out of the classroom, and into learning situations in the community."

Barbara Wertheimer sees a similar need for labor/management instruction about the world of work and labor. "Especially important for the young teenager would be career days that focus on where jobs were likely to be found 5 and 10 years into the future, with opportunities for 'interning' in different kinds of job situations."

It would seem then that an effort to expand citizen education, particularly in the framework of adult education and within the concept of lifelong learning might well examine the programs and philosophies of the citizen education concept of workers' education. Moreover, workers' education has much to gain from an expanded concept of citizen education in terms of shared programs and an increased emphasis upon education.

Labor educators are hampered by lack of funds and staff. Restricted budgets make it difficult to reach beyond their own groups for participation in joint community programs. Such restrications also limit their ability to share their own programs with the schools and other volunteer agencies. Labor educators have, however, on rare occasions obtained funding for some of their programs -- grants from Title I of the Higher Education Act, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Vocational Education and Intergovernmental Personnel Acts. But for the most part, these were pilot programs which did not provide continuing funding.

Federal monies for the establishment of worker education model projects that would be tied to schools and to community programs, could draw on the considerable expertise about citizen education currently available in labor programs. Such an initiative would surely create more informed citizen participation. Participation, moreover, with a pragmatic outlook: one that emphasizes attainable goals and therefore provides a greater sense of meaningful participation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations flow from our understanding of trade unions' core values and their central importance to industrial democracy in America. To bridge the gap between the union's ideals and their realization, substantial steps must be taken to strengthen the capability of labor education. Labor education -- the spectrum of training programs undertaken either singly by unions or in concert with educational institutions -- is the primary vehicle for reaching that frequently

forgotten class -- workers. The steps we propose will require the support and frequently, the financial assistance of the Federal Government. The central proposal in our recommendations, the one upon which they all depend, is a call for a Federal labor extension service.*

Education for New Constituencies

Our proposals were conceived in response to the need of the trade union and of American workers. Labor education is in a strategic position to address these needs. However, labor education programs, for all their dynamism, have not reached their widest possible audience. Limited resources have meant that classes in bargaining, grievance handling, union administration, and other leadership skills have concentrated on the union activists; e.g., shop stewards, committeemen, and labor leadership, the officers and staff of local and national unions. Programs have yet to meet the demand of an increasingly educated rank and file whose needs encompass both a desire for knowledge about their organizations and a yearning for self-development.

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*Several commentators took issue with the call for Federal funds for labor education. Arthur Fox suggested "to the extent possible, employers should be the primary source of funding for worker educational programs rather than the Federal Government."

Edward Glaser foresees opposition to this proposal: "When our citizens already feel overwhelmed and in revolt over excessive taxation, and when the dollar has been plunging to new lows and inflation has been soaring to new highs -- is this a time to be recommending yet another costly spending program for one important special interest group, namely, labor unions?"

Nor have other special groups within the trade union received the attention they deserve. New workers enter the plant gates and office doors frequently without the slightest idea of what a union contract or constitution means or looks like. Unstinting efforts are required to sharpen the skills and perceptions of new members. Older workers and retirees have often been bypassed in educational ventures.

Additionally, young people, in a blue collar job or in one of the rapidly organizing occupations; e.g., teaching, health care, law enforcement, or human service in the public sector, receive minimal preparation in school for their role as workers. Social studies curriculums largely ignore the history of American workers and their unions and pay scant attention to the system of industrial democracy unions have fostered. Career education programs emphasize the technical aspects of jobs, rarely dealing with their trade union setting.

The Need for Innovative Curriculums

Labor education must not only widen its reach but also extend its subject matter to new areas. Classes have evolved from short, functional training--short courses of 6 to 8 weeks, conferences, and institutes--to longer programs--from 2 to 4 years--with a humanities and social science orientation. The natural progression has led from "how to do it" classes in grievance handling and public speaking to broadly gauged studies of labor and politics and labor and the economy.

Ann Gould, director of one of the first labor liberal arts programs, described the perspective in which this labor education is rooted:

> Few trade unions any longer restrict their operations to simple bargaining. They have moved officially from such strictly bread and butter operations to concerned involvement and activity in the broad social problems of our society, and

> they have become actively engaged in helping to fashion our Nation's domestic and foreign policies . . . . The kind of educational program needed to help implement present union operations is one based on the broadest kind of curriculum, with courses that help both the union officer and the union member, many of whom left school in early adolescence, to gain understanding of themselves, of their fellow man, and of the society in which they live, and of the role now possible for labor —given a membership and officialdom equal to the task. What is needed, today, is the addition of a broad program in the social sciences and the humanities.

Unions and university labor institutes desperately need support to develop even more comprehensive curriculums. Experiments should be mounted in teaching about labor's relationship to such intricate areas as the urban crisis, energy, housing, community process, and the international economy.

Training for New Union Functions

As trade unionists assume a wider range of leadership responsibilities in their communities -- on boards, commissions, and other agencies -- these officials will require new expertise. For example, a union representative on a health planning board must learn about the politics and financing of health care policy.

In addition, Federal regulations have created a demand for new training. Many in the labor movement would flock to classes that would help them penetrate the maze of Federal rules and regulations. Corporations routinely write off such training and can turn to numerous resources to assist them in dealing with the Federal Government. Unions lack such luxuries.

Promoting Wider Access to Education

Unionized employees and unorganized workers alike have all too often been unable to capitalize on the educational opportunities available in their States.

Educational institutions are just beginning to alter practices that have favored the full-time student from middle and upper-middle class origins. Financial aid policies (part-time students are usually not eligible), scheduling, registration, admissions, and other procedures have been obstacles to the full participation of working class citizens.

Youth and adults from a working class background have no central source of information on the training available in their communities. Moreover, they often lack the self-confidence and skills to negotiate with educational systems.

When access is available, the style of teaching in universities, often heavily abstract and verbal, intimidates some working class students. Equal opportunity can also be a hollow promise if the curriculum is not modified to respond to the priorities that new clients bring with them to the schools.*

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*Barbara Wertheimer urges joint efforts by unions, business, and educational institutions to remove barriers. According to one study, only about 4 percent take advantage of tuition reimbursement. "The red tape of enrollment is one barrier to utilization; lack of advance payment of tuition is another. There is a need for released time for study. Unions and companies could join forces to promote legislation to eliminate the taxing of tuition refund payments as income to the recipient. Other barriers to utilization of tuition reimbursement programs by workers, as revealed in a study sponsored by Cornell's Institute for Education and Research on Women and Work, include a fear of returning to school after a long period of absence, courses that were not relevant, procedures that were both foreign and discouraging, time constraints, and transportation difficulties."

The conferees propose a series of mechanisms that will simultaneously strengthen the providers of labor education and promote more entry ways for workers to learning. To reach future workers, we recommend demonstration projects in the public schools that will develop new social science curriculums on the role of workers in American society and the history of the labor movement. Further, these pilot curriculums should introduce students to the union's function in the workplace and its position in the many occupations they will be joining.

Labor Education and Manpower Training

Another promising strategy for reaching future workers is to build a labor studies component into the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and the other burgeoning manpower training programs. Next to Defense, the Labor Department has received more money under the first Carter budget than any other agency. Currently 560,000 people hold jobs under CETA. The billion dollar program to get jobs for youth is just starting.

Many workers in such manpower projects will be entering union jurisdictions, or will later find a position in a unionized workplace. Labor educators from unions and universities could provide orientation sessions and classes on trade unionism, labor history, industrial democracy, and other areas within these training programs.

Education on the Job

For workers already on the job, we recommend that demonstration projects be instituted to provide educational opportunities "on the clock." Management and salaried personnel are permitted time off during work hours for training at employer expense. Wage workers rarely enjoy this privilege. And usually only when their proposed training meets the narrow criterion of "job related" instruction. Unions routinely pick up the cost of lost wages, travel, and other expenses to defray the expense of worker participation in labor

education programs; e.g., summer schools, conference, and institutes.

By offering workers the time for self-development and practical training, this plan realizes the core values of citizen education. Citizen education anticipates a society in which all individuals, not simply upper income managers and professionals, have the leisure to meet their educational needs as they define them. This goal requires loosening the restrictions on wage workers on the job.

Some unions, notably industrial unions bargaining with large corporations, have won tuition refunds and other educational benefits. The United Auto Workers, for example, can offer 80 percent of their workers up to $900 a year in tuition refunds payable by management. As a result of the 1976 negotiations with Chrysler, classes in labor studies for an A.A. or B.A. degree become eligible for reimbursement.

In the public sector where workers can use credits to advance on the job, District Council 37 (in New York City) of the American Federation of State and County and Municipal Employees has established a model for the use of an educational fund. The council has at its disposal a $1.5 million fund -- created by an employer payment of $25 for each of the 60,000 bargaining unit members. Each member can use $350 for the reimbursement of tuition expense. Using this financial base, the council has worked out agreements with local colleges for training programs and has established at union headquarters, its own undergraduate college: The Downtown Campus of District 37, part of New Rochelle College.

Taking these experiments a step further, we recommend that the Government subsidize selected employers for the lost time caused by wage workers pursuing educational opportunities. The opportunities that could be subsidized would run the gamut from labor education programs conducted by unions and university

labor centers to adult education classes at nearby schools and colleges. These demonstration projects would be testing our assumption that a major obstacle to workers' pursuit of learning is the time and educational expense inherent in this search.*

Workers' Sabbaticals

Another innovation that should be tried is workers' sabbaticals, part time off from the job for continuing one's education. A startling idea in the United States, educational leave is widely accepted by labor, management, and government in many European countries. In 1970 French unions, for example, won a paid educational leave agreement in their negotiations with management. The clause was translated into law in 1971.

*Edward Glaser responding to recommendations for education on the job, wonders about "the resistance from many labor unions to exploring the possibilities of collaboration with management --- in the planning and implementing of quality of worklife improvement programs. The essential feature of such programs is joint union-management planning and implementing agreed-upon improvements in the design, structure and organization of the work in ways likely to increase not only job satisfaction...and productivity, but also improved quality of output. This represents a here-and-now opportunity for democratic participation (thus citizenship education-by-doing) on the part of all employees who wish to participate in improving their work situation at a given work site. A number of unions and companies (UAW and GM, for example) are working under such arrangements. If union negotiating committees chose to press for exploration of such arrangements in their collective bargaining, it probably would facilitate spread of the concept."

Former President of the United Auto Workers Leonard Woodcock advocated workers' sabbaticals in a speech at the Third Annual Joint Labor Education Conference in Black Lake. We concur with his argument:

> I believe that workers need to unwind, or improve their skill or strike out in new directions just as much as college professors do. New and young members who become active today in the labor movement do not necessarily have to go through the 'School of Hard Knocks', as I did to gain knowledge and skills to become a union leader. The route being offered now through union education and college and university labor education is much more appropriate for modern times.

The concept of workers' sabbaticals could be extended through Federal educational policy. Just as the G.I. Bill brought streams of working class people into higher education, so today we urge that similar "entitlements" be given to workers of modest income.

Union Educational Counselors

If access to learning opportunities is to be promoted, workers need assistance. Under the most generous educational fund, that of the UAW, only 1.5 percent of eligible workers have made use of the monies they are entitled to claim.

We recommend that experiments be established on several job sites to train local union educational counselors. Such counselors would assist employees in finding the training most appropriate for them. University labor centers should train these union officials. (Training might include courses on the structure of secondary and higher education, the nature of adult education, financial aid programs, and counseling techniques.)

With this kind of instruction, local counselors would be in a position to produce worker-oriented hand-

books, which would outline the training available in a particular community. These handbooks (written in a style workers could easily follow) could include advice on techniques of dealing with registration, admissions, and financial aid policies.

The one notable attempt to train educational counselors, by the International Union of Electrical Workers, was particularly successful. The IUE had bargained successfully for a tuition refund of up to $400 a year in negotiations in 1969 with General Motors and Westinghouse. They wanted to ensure that the fund was used. With the cooperation of university labor institutes, the IUE used a Department of Labor grant to train more than 200 local educational counselors in 12 cities. The payoff of the program was impressive -- 860 workers went on to receive their high school diplomas and 230 entered college.

Labor Education Materials

Without imaginative new course materials and curriculums geared to workers and union members, new recruits to educational institutions will quickly become frustrated and drop out. We propose that existing labor education materials be collected, cataloged, and disseminated from a central location. There is no need for each new program addressing the needs of workers to start from scratch.

A Federal Labor Extension Service:
the Cornerstone of a Union Citizenship Program

The cornerstone of our proposal is a recommendation for a Federal labor extension service. The service would fund on a continuous basis the many programs in university labor institutes which would, in turn, assist workers in their regions.

This would permit labor education to broaden the constituency it serves and to expand the number and and quality of its classes. Like agriculture, labor would have its "county agents" providing training,

advice, and research at workers' request. The establishment of such a service would be a belated recognition of workers' claims on the taxes they have paid to support education. A labor extension bill would be a small step toward giving workers the same crack at educational resources that management enjoys.

The funds for a labor extension service would be distributed by formula, on a matching basis, to each State and channeled through State university labor education centers. This would strengthen existing programs and promote new institutes in States which lack them. Labor advisory committees, representing the State and national leadership of the labor movement, would provide advice and direction to the labor extension service.*

The idea for such a service is not new. In 1948 a coalition of trade unionists and labor educators, under the direction of Hilda Smith, backed a bill to create a labor extension service. It died in Congress. J.S. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers, and one of the key people involved in promoting and drafting this earlier legislation, recently made an eloquent appeal for a new campaign to establish a labor extension service:

> Some 30 years ago, as a vice-president of the Greater Washington Labor Union, I assisted in drafting proposed legislation that would have created a National Labor Education Extension Act.

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*Glaser points out that "The Federal Government already provides diversified education programs for urban citizens through adult education and community college day and evening classes, plus other specially funded Federal/State supported programs. These educational institutions generally are responsive to requests for special courses that any group of students request. Can we afford more?"

My recollection of Morrill Act of 1862, the bedrock legislation for public post-secondary education, is that it was 'to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts... in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes...'

During the century or so since the State colleges began their steady growth, I have to assume that the ivy has grown over the words 'mechanic arts' because the agricultural extension service exists as a model of continuing education, while not a penny of Federal money has been appropriated for labor extension education.

A labor education extension program operated through the State university system could have as great a benefit for America's workers -- the industrial classes -- as the agricultural extension service has had for farmers...

Recently, Leonard Woodcock (in a speech prepared for the Third Annual Joint Labor Education Service, Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center, Black Lake, Mich., November 14, 1976) also called for such a service:

Unfortunately, the rich promise of the Land Grant College Act to the farmers and mechanics of the Nation was only half fulfilled. American agriculture and the American people have been superbly served by the land grant colleges, but little or no effort was made to cultivate the hidden harvests in metropolitan centers by the extension method.

I, and other spokesmen for the UAW, have called on other occasions, for support of a Federal program for labor extension services. Then and now, we ask that the extremely effective

and fruitful education programs developed for farm families be provided equally for city families.

If the expansion of labor education that we urge is to be truly effective, the Office of Education must establish a unit with special expertise in this area. This must be a unit that people in the field can turn to for advice, support, and assistance.

To conclude, workshop conferees felt strongly that the role of the union in a democracy could be better served if workers' education were to become a Federal and national priority. Such a program, undergirded by a labor extension service, would be able to reach new clientele, broaden the kinds of education available for workers, make it more possible for them to benefit from such opportunities, and legitimize the importance of education for members of the working class.*

*Barbara Wertheimer comments that "The UCLEA paper, in presenting numerous viable recommendations for increasing the effectiveness of labor education, stimulates the reader to think in terms of proposals for pilot programs that could test some of the ideas suggested, or evaluate carefully projects that have been attempted in the past on a limited scale (for example, the sabbatical leave program negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America)."

NOTES

1. Lynn Goldfarb, "Knowledge as Power. The Life Story of Hilda Worthington Smith." Unpublished manuscript, p. 47.

2. Oral history interview with Hilda Smith, conducted by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and also on deposit at the Pennsylvania Historical Collections Pattee Library, Pennsylvania State University, pp. 7-9.

3. "The Autobiography of Hilda W. Smith," unpublished manuscript, p. 766.

4. Oral history interview. op. cit., pp. 12-13.

The Role of Business in Citizen Education

Results of Workshops

Human Resources Network

New York, November 1977

St. Louis, December 1977

INTRODUCTION

Corporate America has a direct and vital stake in the processes of citizenship education as they occur throughout our society. Accurately defining this relationship is quite difficult because the term "citizenship" is one that means different things to different people. As with the popular conception of art, citizenship is something that most people claim "to know when they see it."

For the purposes of this report, however, it is necessary to establish a working definition of the term citizenship education. We therefore have defined citizenship education as that series of experiences whereby individuals learn about rights and responsibilities in a democratic society. It is a process which takes place in all sectors of our society and should continue throughout the lifetime of each individual. There are five aspects which are fundamental to this concept of citizenship education.

Awareness - developing an understanding within the individual of his or her existence within, and relationship to, other sectors of society such as family, local community, State, Nation, and world.

Identification - fostering a sense of commonality between the individual and these various sectors or institutions of society.

Understanding - educating the individual to comprehend the existence and operation of the various systems (economic, political, etc.) which govern our society. This information should identify the role, rights, and responsibilities of the individual within each system.

Participatory Skills - developing the capabilities within each individual to responsibly exercise his or her rights and obligations as citizens within our society. Such skills might include such things as identifying sources of necessary information about current issues, or knowing where and when to vote on matters of concern.

Participatory Opportunities - making it easier for individuals to participate in the decisionmaking or problem-solving processess of our society. This aspect of citizenship education is experientially designed and encompasses the use of existing opportunities, as well as the creation of new ones.

Our democratic system requires that its citizens possess such knowledge, skills and opportunities, and that they employ them to discharge their responsibilities as citizens. A lack of citizen participation in the affairs of our society would create a vacuum in the power structure which would then be filled by other sectors that were not intended to have that power. Such a disruption of the delicate system of checks and balances could result in the creation of social institutions that are too big and too strong, and a general public which is alienated and weak. It's a self-perpetuating cycle that produces divisiveness, fragmentation, and tension.

It is a primary conclusion of this report that this scenario currently is being played out in our society and that "the people" have become alienated from "the system" that was created to serve them. Pollster Daniel Yankelovich describes this situation:

> All of our surveys over the last decade show that every year, more and more people are coming to believe that the part of their lives that they control is diminishing...As an individual's realm of autonomy was shrunk by the actions of government and institutions, he becomes more determined to control the remainder.[1]

We conclude, furthermore, that a major cause of this phenomenon is the breakdown of the basic process of citizenship education within all sectors o society.

Corporate America, as a major institution, has both the means and the responsibility to conduct citizenship education programs for its various constitu-

encies or the general public. In fact, business currently conducts a wide variety of projects which fit within the broad framework of citizenship education. The rationales and goals of these programs are as varied as the types of companies sponsoring them.

Our research, however, indicates that certain general statements can be formulated about the role of business in citizenship education. For example, the majority of companies that have sponsored such projects have enjoyed obvious benefits. Depending on the nature of the program, these benefits include: (1) more highly motivated employees; (2) better relations with the surrounding community; (3) less Government regulation of business; (4) more efficient use of tax revenues; (5) a better educated labor pool from which to recruit workers, and so on.

The citizenship education programs of American business have many different goals and audiences. This diversity results from factors such as the size and location of the company; the specific problems that the company wishes to address; the target audience; the scope of the effort -- local, regional, or national; the budget and personnel committed to it; cooperating agencies, etc. This mixture of program types is a healthy characteristic of corporate sponsored efforts and we believe that such diversity should be encouraged.*

Many business initiated citizenship education programs fail to accomplish their goals. This report attempts to identify some of the most common reasons for these failures in the hope that the rate of failure might, thereby, be reduced. Some basic suggestions to help avoid the most common mistakes are presented: (1) limit the number of problems that are to be addressed

* Sheila Harty comments: "Business' involvement in citizenship education, as in consumer education and other public assistance efforts, is a strategy of enlightened self-interest. Socially responsive efforts are well-reasoned public relations which enhance the corporate image for long range profit returns. Given this mercantile motive, business is doing its business."

to a manageable size; (2) know the needs of the intended audience; (3) cultivate cross-sector co-operation when necessary; (4) allow an opportunity to test each program before it is fully implemented. This report does not attempt to determine definitively what corporations should be doing vis-a-vis citizenship education. Rather, it attempts to point out the variety of existing programs and to illustrate some of the potential rewards and problems of corporate activity in this area.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

The nature of the free market system is such that business is dependent upon the existence of an educated, critical, and active citizenry. The traditional relationship between buyer and seller is a delicate one which blends elements of both trust and skepticism. A certain amount of skepticism on the part of the public sector -- the constant search for better products and better prices -- is healthy. It is the fuel which keeps the fires of enterprise burning. When public skepticism about business turns into mistrust, however, this delicate balance will be upset and the breakdown can have disturbing implications for society in general.

Many responsible social critics claim that such a "breakdown" is now occurring in American society. It is their belief that a great number of citizens have become alienated from the major social institutions which control their lives, and there is an impressive body of evidence which supports this contention. For example, a recent article in the New York Times analyzed what it referred to as the public's "...deepening suspicion of government in particular and authority in general."[2] It cited numerous statements which indicate that the American people are less inclined to follow the advice of authority figures or institutions and that this phenomenon is damaging the health of both the individuals and our society. Dr. Arthur Miller of the University of Michigan sees

this development as an expression of mistrust. "This reaction is a statement by the people that, since they don't trust the system, why should they perform for the system by buying smaller cars or taking flu shots as they're told to do."3/

Various studies by public opinion pollsters such as Lou Harris, George Gallup, and Daniel Yankelovich confirm that this loss of confidence and trust in "the system" has been developing for some 20 years. In 1958, 20 percent of those questioned expressed their distrust of political authority. This proportion rose to over 50 percent by 1976. Within just the past decade, public confidence in Congress dropped from 42 percent to 17 percent. The trend has not been confined to politics, as evidenced by the 30-point loss in popular esteem which organized medicine suffered during the past several years.

Business as a major social institution has experienced a similar decline in its relations with the general public. During the past decade, according to the findings of a Lou Harris poll, those professing to have a "great deal of confidence in business leaders" dropped from 55 percent to less than 20 percent. Well over half stated that they didn't believe that they were getting a "fair shake" from American business. These attitudes on the part of the general public cost corporations billions of dollars, primarily in three ways: (1) the cost of Government regulations; (2) the cost of poorly motivated, poorly trained employees; and (3) the loss of individual investors at a time when capital needs are increasing.

Most business leaders feel confident that if the populace had a deeper and clearer understanding of economics and of the important role which corporations play in the development of democracy, much of this mistrust would fade. They fear that economic ignorance, or more specifically, what they see as the public's

reliance on half-truths, forms the base of this great mistrust of business.*

"Many businessmen believe that economic illiteracy on the part of the public is detrimental to business and has made possible the passage of significant anti-business legislation in recent years. ... people tend to mistrust what they do not understand."4/

Government regulation, as most business leaders would agree, costs everybody. How much it costs is impossible to determine accurately. Business Week

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* Francis Macy believes that mistrust of business has other roots. He comments, "The business participants...apparently did not reflect together on the impact of corporate behavior on employees and other citizens... There is no reference to the bribes that corporations have made to many political figures in this country and abroad, to the violations of equal employment opportunity regulations, to massive pollution, to safety problems, and to energy waste. In the exercise of citizenship many Americans are calling on their Government to check these anti-social behaviors."

Sheila Harty adds: "Economic ignorance is not the basis for ethical indictments about corporate responsibility. Confidence and trust in the integrity of a system comes not from conceptual knowledge about the system, but from observation of the practical workings of that system. Changing public opinion as 'insurance' against Government regulation is a misplaced bandaid. Standards of ethical conduct, quality control, and occupational health and safety would be better insurance. The obligations of business to produce quality goods and services, just employment, and a fair dividend to stockholders need to be satisfied. Until then, extracurricular activities are not only inappropriate but an irresponsible escape from their direct obligations."

estimates that 27 major Federal regulatory agencies, both social and economic, spent $4.8 billion in fiscal 1975. This impressive figure represents only a fraction of the true cost since it does not include the expenses incurred by private business. For example, Dow Chemical estimates its cost of Federal regulation at $147 million a year.[5] Dow believes that at least one-third of these costs, or $49 million, is "excessive" by the standards of good business.

Mistrust of business and our economic system influences the performance of employees, and this, too, costs money. Employees who are suspicious of their company's goals and motives tend to be less loyal and productive workers, when compared with those who understand the relationship between the success of the company and their own standard of living. A company-wide survey of its employees conducted by Sperry Rand Corp., supported this and reached two important conclusions:

> Employees who understand economic fundamentals in their own terms are likely to contribute more to the company than those who do not.
>
> A lack of such basic knowledge and understanding can adversely affect motivation, dedication, and appreciation for what is needed to attain company goals.[6]

As a result of these findings, Sperry Rand has since created and implemented an extensive program designed for employees and shareholders. (This program is described in more detail later in this report.)

Private investments in American business are also influenced by the declining level of public confidence in, and respect for, the economic system. Over the past few years, the number of individual investors has decreased at an alarming rate. James W. Davant, chairman of Paine Weber, Inc., projected the future implications of this trend in an article entitled "The Wall Street Dropouts."

The private investor is an endangered species, according to Mr. Davant, and this is going to create a severe shortage of capital for business within the next decade.

> Seeing themselves as outsiders with little power over events or institutions, more and more Americans are choosing noninvolvement... Economic noninvolvement is showing up as a decline in the direct ownership of shares. Individuals with only a few shares feel powerless to affect the affairs of corporations.[1]

This sense of powerlessness and alienation from the major institutions in our society results in part from the citizen's lack of knowledge concerning the economic system of modern America; the individual feels incompetent to deal with complex social problems and, in turn, the specialized expert is prone to exclude him from decisionmaking processes. Once this cycle of specialization and bureaucracy is established, it is very hard to break out of it.

But it is equally true that most large institutions do very little to alter their own structure in a way which would prompt greater participation by non-experts. Participatory opportunities are rarely presented in the corporate decisionmaking process. Some companies have taken the step of teaching participatory skills, but it is extremely rare to find a corporation which voluntarily allows these skills to be translated internally -- these skills are intended to be used in <u>other</u> institutions; i.e., the political system, the education system, and so on. This lack

of actual participation in the corporate world plays a large part in the individual employee's feeling of powerlessness.*

As a result of this feeling of powerlessness over business institutions, the private investor is not participating in the economic growth of this country by investing in it. To prove this, Mr. Davant points to the following facts:

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*Several commentators focus on the need for genuine participation. Francis Macy says "The remainder of the report largely ignores this vital connection between authentic participation in an institution and the degree of alienation from it. Instead, the report focuses on corporate programs to enable and encourage employees to participate in community and political activities but not corporate decisionmaking ...and focuses...on corporate efforts to inform employees and modify their attitudes through information and counseling. These programs all seem very useful and enlightened and I hope they will spread to more places of work. They do not, however, address the central issue of alienation. A sense of power and a sense of involvement with an institution can develop not only from thinking for oneself..., but also by impacting on the institutions that influence our lives. This means having authentic influence on the decisions made by the corporate structures that are offering citizenship education."

Edward Glaser wonders why more companies do not invite participation in the workplace. He suggests retraining for managers to "operate effectively in a participative style, rather than concentrating on how to better educate the workforce in the economic facts of life from management's perspective."

1. In 1979, 31 million people owned stocks; now only about 25 million do.

2. In 1949, institutions owned 14.5 percent by value of all common stocks listed on the New York Exchange. Now, institutional holdings are over 33 percent.

3. In 1976, financial institutions accounted for 54.7 percent of the value of all shares traded on the Exchange. Individuals were responsible for only 23.1 percent.

4. Of the $230.4 billion of primary debt and equity issued in 1976, $5 of every $6 invested were institutional.8/

These trends contain grave implications for the American economy if they cannot be reversed within the next few years. For the economy to maintain a rather "modest" annual growth rate of 3.6 percent over the next decade, $4.6 trillion in new capital will be needed. After all other sources are accounted for, Mr. Davant estimates that "individuals will have to invest $6 or $7 billion a year. That would require a fantastic turnaround (since) individuals have been net sellers of equity at the rate of $6 billion a year for the past 5 years."9/ Mr. Davant concludes that the American business community must face this problem and "...take a more active role on behalf of the individual investor. If we don't, not just Wall Street but the whole idea of a free society could be in trouble."10/

Certainly, many factors have contributed to the decline of public confidence in the major institutions of our society. The breakdown in the process of citizenship education is only one thread within a complex web of recent developments. This report does not pretend that citizenship education is the key to either the problems or the solutions. Vietnam, Watergate, the recession, and the energy crisis have

influenced the attitudes of the American people about many things, including business. Simply stated, many people believe that "the system" has failed them and these problems dramatically illustrate that the situation is much more complex than a mere succession of adverse circumstances. In his book, "The New American Ideology,"Professor Lodge develops the proposition that big business is the victim of changing values in our society.

> Thus it appears that whatever may have been the original ideas by which corporations were made legitimate, for utilitarian and pragmatic reasons those ideas have been replaced by the practice of self-perpetuating management. The ideas of individualism, property, competition, and the limited state, which provided the original basis for corporate legitimacy, have been greatly eroded in the process.
>
> The instability of the corporation today is therefore not surprising. The manager may search desperately for some means of validating himself and his enterprise, pursuing social responsibility, perplexing himself with social audits, but he will find no peace until a new ideological foundation sustains the extraordinary mechanism he controls.11/

EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Prof. Lodge notwithstanding, we conclude that widespread corporate participation in the process of citizenship education would significantly contribute toward resolving many of the social problems we currently face. Many hundreds of companies have demonstrated a similar belief by sponsoring programs which further the goals of citizenship education. Therefore, a reservior of experience exists which should be consulted by those business leaders who wish to become

involved in the area.

Several types of corporate programs are explained in the following pages. Some are aimed at employees, others at segments of the public, a few at both audiences. We have divided them into several major groups: Social Service Leave, Community Relations Outreach and Volunteerism; Political Education and Involvement; Consumer Information; Newsletter Political and Economic Information; Career Education and Development; and Economic Education. Following a brief summary of each group's purpose, representative programs are described.

Each program represents a different approach to citizenship education, incorporating to varying degrees the five fundamental characteristics of citizenship education.*

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* Some commentators thought the list of corporate programs should include the quality of work life movement. Francis Macy notes: "Corporate and union leadership have joined in a number of plants across the country to create joint decisionmaking committees which give genuine participation to employees at all levels. The Bolivar Plant of Harmon International in Tennessee is a shining example of this process. The General Motors Corporation and the UAW have collaborated in many plants, notably the Fischer Body Works in Grand Rapids, to introduce quality of work life procedures. There is a growing literature on the impact of the measures. One of the outcomes has been a significantly greater sense of control over working conditions by employees. Observers note great growth in cooperative decisionmaking skills and understanding of corporate and industry realities. Absenteeism has dropped and productivity increased in many plants. This is yet another case demonstrating that when people are given increased responsibility they learn a great deal and become identified with the institution."

Social Service Leave: By providing participatory opportunities, these programs encourage employees to develop their participatory skills, and in so doing, to better understand their own relationship to the community, and the relationship of business to the community.

- PROGRAMS: A small but growing number of companies have formalized a "loaned employee" program -- i.e., a program through which employees work for nonprofit organizations or Government agencies for up to 1 year while their salaries and job status are maintained by the sponsoring companies. The major reasons for establishing a Social Service Leave Program include: (1) to provide assistance to organizations or agencies in order to carry out the corporate responsibility objectives of the company; (2) to provide select employees with valuable training and exposure in situations not often found in the context of their corporate jobs; and (3) to attract and hold better quality employees. A common theme in such programs is that employees will "learn and grow" through their work outside the corporate walls, as well as provide vitally needed management skills to organizations. Indications are that such programs do provide most participants with learning experiences, very much in line with the concept of citizenship education.

1. Xerox: This program is unusual for two reasons: (1) it has been operating successfully for 6 years, the longest of any such corporate program; and (2) it is one of the few executive loan programs in which the employees themselves choose their own projects and initiate the leave process. Most programs have a list of good programs and search for employees to fill the volunteer slots. About 30 Xerox employees per year take advantage of the SSL program, working with social organizations for up to 1 year.

2. Equitable: In its first year of operation, Equitable's Loaned Personnel Program assigned eight executives to a variety of nonprofit agencies. In

1977, Equitable had 12 employees out on leave. Each of Equitable's line operations is charged with the responsibility of encouraging, coordinating, and assisting their personnel to participate in the program. Emphasis is placed on selecting the right people to fill the appropriate position, with "right people" being generally defined as high performers whose assignments would benefit both their own career and the assigned agencies.

3. Other companies with social service leave/ loaned personnel programs include: CBS, J.C. Penney, Wells Fargo Bank, IBM, Exxon, Citicorp, Control Data Corp., Pfizer, and others.

Community Relations Outreach and Volunteerism: On a smaller scale, these programs provide benefits similar to those of the social service leave programs. In addition, because they involve employees taking on community activities while continuing to fulfill their job responsibilities, these programs can teach participants the importance to the community of maintaining the health and vitality of both the private and nonprofit sectors.

- PROGRAMS: Corporate community relations efforts come in all shapes and sizes. Some begin and end with traditional press releases and plant tours -- old-fashioned public relations. Other programs involve community relations planning, including the setting of goals for community-oriented programs, large-scale involvement of many employees, and an understanding of community needs which the company can address through its outreach and volunteers. Some programs emphasize individual community participation by providing, through a volunteer coordinator, a wide range of volunteer opportunities. Other programs emphasize joint employee-community efforts, often through community relations teams or committees. Some companies are beginning to develop more objective data on community needs and programs through "community audits." And many companies have employees involved with nonprofit organizations or minority business

through nonprofit, volunteer coordinating organizations which recruit corporate volunteers for specific projects. The key element in these programs is learning about the community, and working to improve it, either individually or in employee teams.

1. Babcock & Wilcox Community Audit and Community Action Planning: B & W has for several years been conducting "community audits" in those communities where it has plants. These audits consist of a corporate community relations specialist spending time in the community, interviewing a sample of leaders and citizens. The resulting "audit" summarizes the most pressing problems facing the community, and recommends how the company's local management might, with the help of employee volunteers, address those problems. A subsequent "Community Action Plan" is developed by a team of employees, to follow up on these recommendations with specific types of community involvement. Several specific programs have resulted from these efforts. One example is the company's intensive involvement with the school system in one of B & W's plant communities (Beaver Falls, Pa.). Similar programs exist at Levi Strauss, Allis-Chalmers, Union Carbide, and Honeywell.

2. Citicorp Community Involvement Program: New York City's Citicorp (parent company of Citibank) strongly encourages its employees to volunteer their time and skills to their neighborhoods and city. Several methods are used:

a. Regular posting of volunteer opportunities in in-house publications;

b. Appearance of feature articles in such publications, on individual volunteers;

c. Annual cash awards to outstanding volunteers and the organizations with which they volunteer;

d. Volunteer Fairs, held annually, which allow organizations in need of volunteers to come into the

company's headquarters to solicit volunteers;

e. The presence of a full-time volunteer coordinator, who serves as an information clearinghouse and referral source for employee volunteers.

3. The Volunteer Urban Consulting Group: Located in New York City, VUCG is a nonprofit consulting firm which assists nonprofit organizations and minority small businesses in solving business and management problems, through creating volunteer consulting teams recruited from area corporations. Based on the concept of leveraging managerial talent, the VUGG combines the skills of a small, professional staff with hundreds of business volunteers. VUCG serves as a liaison between organizations which have specific problems, and business employees who wish to volunteer their business skills to assist such groups. A similar organization exists in Minneapolis, and one is currently in the planning stages in Milwaukee.

4. Exxon Volunteer Involvement Program: For the past 3 years, Exxon Co., headquartered in Houston, has had an extensive volunteer program for its employees. Using a full-time volunteer coordinator, this program has been able to respond to employee desires for a variety of volunteer experiences. Key program components include: (1) extensive contact with a broad spectrum of community agencies (including school officials); (2) widespread publication of the program, and of actual volunteer experiences, within the company; (3) personal interviews between interested employees and the volunteer coordinator; (4) regular followup by the coordinator to evaluate the effectiveness of volunteer placements; and (5) use of a "volunteer fund," from which employee volunteers can draw to provide additional support to organizations with which they are involved. The key to the success of such a program lies in the close involvement of the volunteer coordinator in finding a variety of potential volunteer opportunities, and in carefully matching employees with those opportunities. Exxon's experience with the program has included the

unexpected benefit of enhancing the self-confidence and job satisfaction of many volunteers.

5. Honeywell's Community Action Committees: Honeywell, headquartered in Minneapolis, has for the past 4 years sponsored the on-going community involvement of more than 50 "Community Action Committees." Comprised of employees in Honeywell branch offices, each committee has the responsibility to: (1) learn about the problems and needs of its community; (2) determine the office's resources for addressing those needs; and (3) plan and implement appropriate programs. Each committee budgets money for community projects, but local involvement can be augmented by money from headquarters. In many cases, projects have drawn on the data processing and management skills of Honeywell employees.

Political Education and Involvement: Political education and involvement programs have the potential of overcoming alienation toward the political system in general and politicans in particular. Such programs foster identification with society's political structures, promote understanding of how decisions are made, and encourage people to fight political apathy by actively participating in the processes of Government.

- PROGRAMS: Until very recently, most corporations were reluctant to become directly involved in stimulating employee involvement in political processes, aside from encouraging employees to vote. This "hands off" policy changed dramatically after the Federal Election Commission's 1975 approval of Sun Oil's plan for more open corporate political activity. Since that decision, corporate "Political Action Committees" have proliferated. Although such PAC's are essentially corporate vehicles to raise money from employees to give to political candidates deemed to be favorably disposed toward the company, they tend also to emphasize political education and participation.

1. Sun Co.'s Responsible Citizenship Program: In addition to voluntary fund-raising through its PAC, the basic unit of Sun's program is the Local Political Council, the purpose of which is to stimulate effective participation in the political system. These councils, organized and led by employees, concentrate on such activities as voter registration, political rallies for all parties, political-economic seminars, and a host of other community-oriented political and governmental activities. Corporate staff has not dictated the agendas for these Councils, preferring to let each determine the nature of its activities, and draw on corporate staff for technical assistance.

2. International Paper: Voluntary Contributors for Better Government: A good example of a working Political Action Committee is the Voluntary Contributors for Better Government Committee at International Paper Co. Over 30 percent of the eligible employees are participating in the PAC through payroll deduction. The committee is composed of one employee representative from each of International Paper's seven operating regions, plus one corporate officer (the vice president for Corporate Affairs), who serves as the committee chairman. Many of the representatives are actual lobbyists or employees with direct experience in Government affairs. The committee meets to discuss proposed candidates, and review their positions on certain issues related to the health and welfare of the company.

Employees contributing to the PAC can specify that their money should be given to candidates:

1. At the discretion of the committee;

2. Democratic candidates chosen by the committee;

3. Republican candidates chosen by the committee;

4. Any candidate or party specified by the employee.

About 88 percent of the participating employees have let the committee select the recipients at their discretion. While this may point up some negative aspects of a PAC, it may also indicate the employees' faith in the character and integrity of the PAC itself. According to a spokesperson, the company has made every effort to ensure that no undue pressure is exerted on employees to contribute. One provision of the PAC, for example, specifies that no Better Government spokesperson is permitted to contact any employee he or she supervises or evaluates concerning a contribution.

3. First Bank System's Practical Politics Seminar: To stimulate employee interest in political participation and to teach employees about the political system, First Bank System (Minneapolis) launched its Practical Politics Seminars in 1976. Using well-known political leaders as teachers and discussion leaders, the seminars are held in the bank's local branch offices and are usually attended by 15 to 20 people.

Consumer Information: Effective consumer information programs promote popular understanding of political and economic issues affecting their employers, and encourage employees to participate in direct interaction with Government officials.

- PROGRAMS: The focus of consumer information efforts emanating from the business community range from very self-serving to very impartial and objective. While there is certainly nothing wrong with corporate attempts to explain a company's perspective on consumer issues, the distinction between education and advertising is often blurred. It seems that people regard more highly those consumer information programs which seem the most objective. Two examples of impartial consumer information programs are particularly noteworthy.

1. J.C. Penney Consumer Information Services: The Educational Department of the Penney Co., has for several years produced a series of materials (magazines, teaching guides, slide shows, etc.) which are called "consumer education," and do not promote the Penney Co., in any way. They are extremely diverse, and well-written, broaching a range of subjects such as conversion to the metric system, human development and family life, career education, nutrition, and housing. There is little if any emphasis on political or economic theory.

An integral part of this material is a twice-yearly magazine, called Forum, "published as a source of information for educators." Each issue addresses a general subject of national concern, such as "Consumers in a Changing Economy," "The Future of Transition," and "Progress." Essays discussing each subject in specific ways are interspersed with a variety of quizzes and educational exercises.

While some of this material is distributed directly to teachers, with instructions on how to use it, much of it is used by store managers and regional consumer affairs representatives in face-to-face learning experiences with teachers and students.

2. Citibank "Consumer Views": For the past 7 years, Citibank of New York has been publishing a monthly 4-to-6 page newsletter on consumer concerns. Each issue analyzes particular problems on which the bank's financial expertise can be brought to bear, such as family budgeting and financial planning, paying for college, divorce, controlling home energy bills, and so on.

Newsletter Publication and Economic Information: Within the last 2 to 3 years, many corporations have begun publishing "public/Government affairs" newsletters, primarily for employee use. These newsletters, which are generally brief and factual (although a few are highly editorial), attempt to analyze local and national political and economic issues.

Some summarize pending legislation and regulation which would affect the company; others comment on the state of the economy and the company's relationship to it. All of these efforts attempt to keep employees better informed about political and economic issues of concern to the company and to business in general. Such newsletters are produced at Continental Group, Pet, Honeywell, First Pennsylvania Bank, Travelers Insurance, Aetna, Sun, and many other companies.

Career Education and Development: Career education is especially important in teaching students about the world of work, increasing their awareness and understanding of options open to them, encouraging them to take an active, participatory role in their career choices, and to a limited extent, promoting their identification with business institutions.

Career development programs can make employees more aware of their potential, and stimulate their participation in self-help efforts to improve their on-the-job skills.

- PROGRAMS: Typically, a corporate career education program provides the chance for the individual to learn about jobs and skills needed for the jobs, and to better assess his or her own abilities and interests. As an Aetna spokesperson observed, such programs should be built around two main concepts: "control" and "choice" -- in other words, taking control of one's life through conscious choices about career in particular, and about life in general.

Companies now run a wide variety of career development programs. Many of these are established to serve students. A few are intended for the general public, and others are aimed at the corporation's employees. As an outgrowth of the equal employment movement, a number of employee career development programs have appeared in the past 3 years which are specifically oriented to minority and female employees.

1. Illinois Bell and Other Chicago Companies: "Business, as a key element in the community and the primary 'user' of workers, shares the responsibility and the right to be involved in the education process." With this concept in mind, Illinois Bell and several other Chicago-based companies have established a career education program for students from kindergarten to high school. The program involves a coalition of groups working together to produce a comprehensive program. These include the business and educational communities, unions, trade associations, and community organizations.*

2. Aetna: Aetna Life and Casualty runs career development workshops for women and minority employees. Three-day workshops discuss career opportunities and explore the individual's work values.

3. First Pennsylvania Bank Centre Square Institute: Since 1974, First Pennsylvania Bank, in Philadelphia, has operated an on-site program to: (1) make college-level courses more accessible to people who have not previously attended college; (2)

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* Sheila Harty questions the appropriateness of mixing educational and business goals. "In areas of citizenship and economic education, we need to be wary of the corporate materialistic view of the individual as 'manpower' developed for its value to the company. This operational policy will be devastating to social and educational theory. Neil Chamberlain, in his book, 'The Limits of Corporate Responsibility' (Basic Books, 1973, p. 114), warns that: 'the corporation's effect on education has been to drain it of its moral quality and to fill it with functional utility. This is the basis for a strong economy but not a great society.'"

motivate employees to continue their education; (3) upgrade personal, job-related skills; and (4) increase employees' confidence in their ability to perform, contributing to their career development.

Classes are held right after work at the bank's main building, and are taught by local college faculty. Students receive college credits, which are transferable to a local university.

Economic Education: Effective economic education programs promote employee and citizen understanding of the economic system. In theory they also promote identification with the economic system, but that contention is debatable. In addition, some of the programs provide challenging participatory opportunities for employees, thus developing their participatory skills.

- PROGRAMS: The health and structure of our economic system has a critical influence on the operation of every other institution within our society. Furthermore, democracy is based on the principle that an informed and educated population will make intelligent decisions to govern itself provided that it has adequate information and the ability to analyze the consequences of each possible choice. It follows, then, that a society which is not familiar with fundamental economic concepts will not make the best decisions on questions of law which contain economic implications. This cause-and-effect relationship was summarized by Richard Wirthlin in an article entitled "Public Perceptions of the American Business System: 1966-1975."

> Adult Americans influence the (business) system not only by producing and consuming its goods and services, but also by establishing, through the kinds of representatives they elect, the rules of the game under which the system operates. Erosion of public confidence in the business system

can directly and profoundly alter the political environment...(for the worse).12/

Therefore, economic education -- the process by which individuals are taught, and come to understand, the basic dynamics of our economic system and their relationship to it as both participants and policy-makers -- should be a major component of any comprehensive, national effort to promote citizenship education. Corporate sponsored, economic education programs generally can be placed into one of the following categories:

1. Mass Media Efforts: Much of what is being offered to the public as economic "education" is nothing more than corporate advertising. The two processes are very different and should not be confused. Irving Kristol addressed this point when he wrote:

> ...advertising is precisely the wrong vehicle for any kind of education. Education, properly understood, induces a growing comprehension of abstract ideas and concepts; advertising, properly understood, aims to move people to do something definite and unambiguous. Education is always raising questions; advertising is always giving answers. These are two radically different modes of communication, and their admixture is corrupting to both. It also happens to be ineffectual. People just don't read advertisements in the press, or listen to them on TV, in an educational frame of mind -- i.e., a mind that is attentive and energetic.13/

Using this definition, there seem to be two primary types of corporate advertising which could be confused with economic education -- image advertising and issue advertising.

Image advertising: Several major corporations -- notably the big oil companies, U.S. Steel, Martin Marietta Corp., and others -- have developed print and TV ads which associate the company with some positive image, such as dedicated employees, good works, outstanding citizens, etc.

Issue advertising: This variation is similar to image advertising except that the concept, usually presented in newspapers and magazines, goes into more detail on particular issues. Such issues are usually related to business of the sponsoring company. However, Bethlehem Steel, Allied Chemical, The Bankers Life, The Penwalt Corporation, and especially Mobil Oil, among others, have developed copy which addresses issues of general importance to their particular industries and to business in general (such as the "low" level of profits, the "high" level of Government regulations, taxation, the costs of pollution control, energy, and so on).

Image and issue advertising are read and seen by millions of people. If we accept the traditional marketing premise that increased advertising generally increases market share, then increased image and issue advertising should increase the number of people thinking about the issues raised in such advertising. But does it improve public attitudes about business? In other words, is it effective in countering the apparently increasing mistrust of business? No one can answer that question definitively; some would argue that image and issue advertising are counterproductive, with much of the public assuming the opposite of whatever big companies say.

2. Public Economic Education Materials: A number of companies have gone beyond image and issue advertising by recognizing that altering public and legislative attitudes about business is a long-term proposition. Indeed, it requires developing the means to influence basic values of people at a time when values are first

forming. Thus, several companies have developed a variety of educational materials and distributed them to teachers and interested groups. Although many of these communications tools were designed for classroom use, the best have demonstrated their adaptability to a variety of audiences. Two examples come from Phillips Petroleum and Sears.

Phillips Petroleum: Phillips spent $1 million on its "American Enterprise" series of five half-hour films and teachers' guides, on America's economic history.

The teachers' guides (which included discussion materials, suggested exercises, and an "economic glossary") are intended to help teachers and anyone else in using the films and leading discussions. The series addresses five basic subject areas from a historical perspective. They are: land, people, organization, Government, and innovation. The films are well-done, and the written materials easy to understand, although perhaps a bit simplistic. The series is intended to convey to teachers and students the unique strengths of America's history -- emphasizing primarily what happened, and not political or economic theory. While these materials do not ignore negative aspects and problems, they are essentially

positive in their orientation. They could be a useful component of a comprehensive economic education program.*

Sears: Sears has developed a variety of classroom materials for elementary and secondary school teachers, including textbooks, teachers' guides, and audiovisual aids. In view of its business, Sears has placed special emphasis on such subject areas as consumer education and home economics.

Sears has produced a booklet called "Our Economic System -- Essays and Teachers' Guides," based on 12 essays sponsored by the Business Roundtable. They appeared in Reader's Digest from February 1975 to January 1976. Included with each essay is a guide to aid student understanding of basic concepts, and suggestions for classroom activities which relate the content of the essay to real life experiences.

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* Sheila Harty provides this assessment of existing corporate education materials: "Economic education taught by corporate America is likely to exclude economic subjects of considerable importance. Co-operatives and unions, appropriate topics within both economic and citizenship education, are usually neglected... Sponsors of economic education materials, at least, need to properly identify their vested interests. As with good scholarship, the perspective of the primary source is significant .. Although some corporate economic education is presented as only a useful component of a comprehensive economic education program, further openness is not sought. Over worked teachers with time and budget constraints do not seek beyond these free multi-media packages. Therefore, the admitted reservations that these materials are a bit simplistic and essentially positive in their orientation become an inadequacy and a failing."

In the introduction to the booklet, Sears Consumer Education Officer Arthur Wood states that the purpose of his company's efforts is to help dispel the "great many misconceptions Americans have about our economic system and the role that business plays in that system." The essays themselves are, to say the least, aggressive in their defense of "free enterprise" and the "free market." One essay challenges common criticisms of free enterprise, with hard-nosed philosophy and numbers (income distribution, dollars given to charity, etc.). Another stresses the great social benefit of profits. A third blames the growth of Government and tax policies for hamstringing business. In general, the essays are persuasive, but acceptance of their logic still depends on one's philosophical disposition. Critics of big business would be well-advised to begin their analysis with a thorough reading of these essays.

3. Public Economic Education Cooperative Programs: "The next step beyond the development and distribution of educational materials to the public is direct, corporate interaction with key groups of people: students, teachers, journalists, legislative aides, and so on. There are several good examples of such programs now in existence.

Continental Group: Continental Group's "Economic Education Course" combines the expertise of business with format of academia. Graduate level, accredited courses are being offered at several colleges around the country, and are intended for groups or professions "who play a major role in influencing attitudes in the country." The program was initially

offered to teachers in New York and Chicago, and has been expanded to include congressional aides and regulatory agency personnel (in Washington and State capitals), journalists, recently graduated lawyers, community leaders, and business students.

The courses, moderated by a professional at the college, become a part of the school's regular curriculum, and feature weekly presentations by various types of corporate specialists on their areas of expertise. Each session is followed by an extensive question and answer period.

In addition to getting other companies involved in these courses, Continental Group has had the courses criticized by a team of professors and economists. This group examined the effectiveness of presentation and answers to questions, and sought to determine if basic issues such as "business morality" and "social responsibility" had been dealt with adequately.

Continental Group is also considering inviting other types of people to participate in the courses -- executives from small businesses, union representatives, elected and regulatory officials, and perhaps even representatives of public interest organizations.

The most attactive feature of this program, in our opinion, is the interaction between top business people and professionals who are in positions of public influence. The opportunity for such people to hear specific examples of how economic theory and the American economic system actually work is exciting. And the opportunity to raise questions and concerns about this system is equally important.

The Tri-Lateral Task Force: The Task Force is a partnership between members of the academic and business communities within the Boston area. Organized in 1974, The Tri-Lateral Task Force was designed to provide high school students with a better

understanding of the American economy in general, and the role of business in particular.

Each participating high school is paired with a corporate member of the Task Force. Volunteer personnel from the corporation work directly with the students on a variety of projects.

4. Employee Economic Education: Employee economic education programs come in a wide variety of shapes and sizes. For the most part, these programs attempt to explain the company's position on various issues and, with mixed success, relate the company's welfare to the individual employee's welfare. The program at Sperry Rand is a carefully designed effort which incorporates many of the elements of other corporate programs. For this reason, it provides an excellent example of what companies can do to promote employee economic education.

Sperry Rand: Launched in late 1975, the Sperry Rand program is based on three premises:

a. Employees who understand the fundamentals of economics are likely to contribute more to the company than those who do not;

b. A lack of understanding in the area of economics can adversely affect employee motivation and dedication;

c. Employees should understand what they will lose if the company is hurt by anti-business forces.

The Sperry Rand program began with an extensive survey of both management and employees. The purpose of the survey was to establish two things: the economic knowledge, interests, and opinions of employees and the perceptions of management about what these would be.

The survey revealed that (1) the management of Sperry Rand did not know what the real concerns of

the employees were, and (2) employee interests and concerns varied widely according to job level and plant location. Also, the more employees "knew" about Sperry's business, the "friendler" they were to the company and its goals. There also seemed to be a strong concern about the condition of the company itself, what the competition was doing, and what these things meant to the employees.

Using these results, the program architects constructed a plan of action that contained five characteristics:

a. Employees are motivated most strongly by their own needs;

b. Each program must respect the special needs of each location;

c. All issues should be timely and directly relevant to employee interests;

d. Communications should come directly from management, not the "grapevine";

e. The program is a long-term effort.

Tactics for implementation which incorporated these characteristics were then devised. Management established a plan to issue a special corporate and divisional annual report to all employees. Weekly meetings of employees in small groups were organized to discuss current topics of concern. Larger group meetings were implemented on a monthly and quarterly basis. Articles which addressed employee concerns appeared regularly in the Sperry Rand newspaper. Supervisors were placed in special training sessions for the purpose of strengthening communications skills.

To make sure that all of these plans would be implemented, Sperry Rand outlined a clear chain of

responsibility which extend from corporate headquarters all the way down to individual facilities. The responsible person at each facility had to report on the program's progress at regular intervals.*

OBSERVATIONS ABOUT BUSINESS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In the process of preparing this report, Human Resources Network conducted two, 1-day workshops to discuss "The Role of Business in Citizenship Education." The majority of the 25 workshop participants came from the business community and brought to the meetings a great deal of experience in this field. Other members included representatives from various business-related research groups, volunteer organizations, trade associations, the U.S. Office of Education, and the U.S. Department of Commerce (see appendix B).

The two workshops were structured to be open discussion sessions during which the business members could analyze the real problems and benefits of corporate-sponsored, citizenship education programs. The various activities described in the previous section served only as the "jumping off point" for each workshop. The collective experience of the participants greatly expanded the scope of discussion. This section of the report briefly outlines some of the major points of agreement which were developed through these workshops, and from our independent research.

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*Francis Macy suggests a final corporate program area which might have been mentioned: corporate educational benefits. "There is no mention of tuition-aid plans which many corporations offer their employees. A number of employees have earned college degrees at company expense and probably feel greater self-respect and appreciation for their employer. In addition, they have probably learned much more about the world and feel more empowered to act in it."

Self-interest a Primary Motivating Force: The most successful programs seem to be those which have accurately identified the self-interests of each target audience and responded to them. Every sector has certain vested interests to protect -- employees, the corporation itself, politicians, the voluntary sector -- and therefore, would have a bias towards programs which further this goal in some way. The Sperry Rand and Sun Co. programs provide excellent examples of this premise at work, because both programs assume (rightly or wrongly) that better-informed employees will be more supportive of business as employees and citizens. Thus, an accurate assessment of the primary concerns of each potential participant is a critical part of the program process.

American Business Overextending: Many of the previous efforts of business have floundered because of over-extension. Wilson S. Johnson, president of the National Federal of Independent Business, made this point during a recent speech.

> No one organization can possibly do everything that must be done to reverse the tide of bureaucracy that threatens to engulf us. In fact, the beginning of wisdom in this matter may well be the realization that we must find new and better ways to work together, with each organization contributing its special, particular talents and resources.14/

To remedy this problem, companies which wish to be active in the area of citizenship education must identify the audience groups they want to reach. Potential audiences would include groups such as schools, the media, employees, lawmakers, or consumers. However, before the proper "targets" can be identified, the corporation must first select and give a priority ranking to the problems it desires to solve. The nature of the problem, or problems, will help to determine the best audience.

Mr. Johnson's comments also suggest the concept of developing partnerships between the business community and other sectors of society. Partnerships often provide the best way of combining scarce resources and also allow business the opportunity of reaching distant audience groups.

Local Programs the Best: Local managers are normally better informed about employee and community needs that are the personnel in corporate headquarters. Also, experience seems to indicate that corporations have the most influence and credibility in their various "plant towns." The combination of these two factors provides some explanation for the belief that those citizenship education programs which are initiated at the local level seem to be more successful than those imposed from headquarters or the home office. These activities, however, cannot survive without the active support of the headquarters' senior management. Corporate policy guidelines must be designed to offer visible support (money and/or technical assistance), while not inhibiting the local level creativity from which many of these projects develop.

Diversity a Primary Characteristic: There is no "right" way to do many of these things -- it is essentially a trial-and-error process. Thus, the role of any outside authority or "standard-setter," particularly a part of the Federal Government, must be a very delicate one. A great many business people instinctively resent what they feel to be governmental intrusion into their activities, even when such help is voluntarily offered. Federal assistance--whether in the form of voluntary guidelines or funding--must respect the diversity of these programs and not attempt to dictate performance standards.

Indirect Corporate Action Effective: Many corporations have found that well-designed, well-intentioned efforts in citizenship education have failed simply because the audience mistrusted the companies' motives. The source of the program overshadowed the content.
Eric A. Weiss, a public issue consultant

for the Sun Co., stated this quite bluntly during an address to the Association of National Advertisers.

> There is no end in sight for the public's mistrust of business, and trying to change that attitude with advertising would probably be counterproductive. The only way business can halt that plunge of its stock of public confidence is to change its own behavior, but this it won't do...(Therefore) Mistrust will continue, supported and encouraged by a drumfire of pronouncements, speeches, and advertising from business, which the public doubts, distrusts, and considers to be a part of the general ripoff.15/

Other authorities on business and society agree with Mr. Weiss. Paul Weaver, associate editor of Fortune, blames business for this because "...business seems to practice one thing and preach another..."16/*

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* Sheila Harty elaborates reasons for mistrust: "Citizenship Education efforts seem outlandish sponsored by an executive management group substantially shielded from shareholder accountability. Shareholders ought to be informed of these company efforts in their annual report. Perhaps their observations on the company's internal political process would cause some comment or objection by comparison. With management choosing boards of directors, controlling proxy machinery, and forming interlocking directorates, it seems unsuitable for corporate America to parade itself as a role model in an educational environment which is supposed to teach children some principles of democracy. Excessively restrictive financial and social impact disclosures, along with retaliation against whistleblowers who report company violations of law, add evidence that corporate teachers lack credentials and credibility."

Any corporation wishing to become involved in citizenship education programs should determine if this negative attitude is held by the audiences with which it hopes to communicate. If these feelings are prevalent, then indirect action by the corporation is probably best. Such indirect action could take a variety of forms. For example, supporting the programs of other non-business agencies which are consistent with the goals of the corporation, is one way. Encouraging employees to volunteer for such programs is another. The Tri-Lateral Task Force program in Boston is a good example of such indirect action.

Many valuable corporate efforts have failed because the companies were not willing to relinquish the "payoff" of public recognition.

Assess Goals: Corporations must determine the nature of the self-interest they are attempting to satisfy. One scale of measurement would be "Long or Short Term." Another scale would be "Primary and Secondary Impact."

Each corporation should have a clear understanding of what it wants in the way of a project payoff and how long it is willing to wait to realize that return on its investment. This evaluation will help to determine the most appropriate form of corporate activity. Employee education programs, for example, have a quicker payoff than those projects aimed at primary school children.

Information Resource Directory: This activity varies a great deal depending on program goals, types of company, geographic location, personnel, management structure, etc. Because of these and many other factors, general rules for success are impossible to formulate. However, a resource directory which business planners, and perhaps even educational leaders, could consult for information and ideas would be useful. The primary function would be to make it easier for professionals in the field to learn from

their peers. It would not attempt to establish guidelines or standards for citizenship education programs.

Educational leaders need to understand business resources better. As implied in many of the programs described above, cooperative relationships between business representatives and educational officials are essential. In addition to understanding basic principles of the economy and the business role in it, educational officials need to take a more active role in seeking to work with corporate representatives on citizenship education programs.

Such officials should understand that (1) many large corporations are eager to work with school systems, particularly where individual company-school relationships can be worked out; (2) corporate community relations representatives are generally receptive to proposals for cooperative endeavors; (3) the business community has resources and skills which can frequently be tapped for educational purposes; and (4) corporate managers are concerned about the skill levels of the graduates of local school systems.*

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* Francis Macy observes that "if citizenship education programs under corporate sponsorship are perceived by educators to be in pursuit of strictly corporate goals, as indicated by some businessmen quoted in the report, they will be reluctant to take the initiative to work with corporate representatives on them. Business certainly has excellent learning resources for students in schools and colleges. Councils have been established in 50 to 60 communities to establish firm linkages between the business world and the education world to give students a practical exposure to work and to ease the transition between school and job. These councils with representatives from business, labor, education, and local government, are variously called community councils on careers, work-education councils, and the like."

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

Although the preceding eight points reflect the general conclusions agreed upon by a majority of the workshop participants and supported by the research of the Human Resource Network staff, evaluation of the specific programs was a much more difficult task. Each category and project was selected because of two major factors: (1) its apparent relationship to citizenship education as defined earlier in this report; and (2) its success in achieving the desired goals. Definitive evaluation, without intensive, on-site study, is impossible. Nevertheless, some general conclusion about each category can be made.

Social Service Leave Programs: Such programs tend to benefit all parties involved: the employee who pursues avocational interests and hones perhaps under-utilized talents; the company, which receives back a rejuvenated employee; and the agency, which receives free assistance.

Major problems encountered include: (1) employee fear that he or she will not be able to return to a comparable, high mobility job, in spite of policy to the contrary (this does in fact happen); and (2) the difficulty encountered by some returned employees in readjusting to corporate jobs.

Such problems can be minimized through careful planning on the part of the company, regular communication between the company and employees on leave, and strong commitment by management to honor its policy.

Community Outreach and Volunteerism: One workshop participant summarized the rationale for community outreach in the words "Community welfare is good business, and good for business."

Effective community relations programs have several features in common: (1) commitment and

involvement of top management at both corporate headquarters and the local level; (2) involvement of a variety of employees, management and non-management; (3) a process for researching community problems and needs; (4) extensive contact with community residents and organizations such as Government agencies, neighborhood groups, other companies, etc.; (5) the use of corporate resources -- contributions of money and/or equipment, people, and facilities -- to support community involvement; and (6) a goal-setting and evaluation process tied into overall corporate planning.

Effective volunteer programs have many of these same characteristics, with special areas of emphasis: (1) the presence of a full-time volunteer coordinator who helps employees find appropriate volunteer options; (2) avoiding "final" matches between agencies and employees; and (3) evaluation of volunteer experiences from the point of view of both employee and company. In addition, the company must demonstrate its concern for both the community and the employees. As one workshop member observed, "You can't ask employees to get involved and give of themselves if the company hasn't done so."

Political Education and Involvement: Effective programs would seem to be those which do not push the company's interest. However, many companies would argue that a program is not effective unless it motivates many employees to interact with politicans and regulators specifically to influence their behavior.

Backing away from this type of value judgement, "effectiveness" could be measured by other criteria. The number of employees involved, for example, would provide one measurement tool. Several members of the workshops cautioned that corporations cannot "direct involvement from the home office." The most they can do is to stimulate the interest of employees and provide them with convenient opportunities for political

participation. The programs at the Sun Co., demonstrate the successful application of this theory.

Other criteria of effectiveness would include: a diversity of activities; the predominance of initiative coming from the local level; and increased knowledge of, and participation in, the governmental/ legislative process by a significant number of employees.

Consumer Information: Again, the degree of impartiality with which a company produces and distributes consumer information appears to be a useful benchmark. Most companies have established consumer affairs offices to deal with complaints, but very few have adopted the J.C. Penney approach -- producing educational materials for consumers, teachers, and local managers.

Career Education and Development: External career education programs, such as those being developed in Chicago and Los Angeles, are striving to overcome tremendous information and skill gaps between real world job opportunities and big city environments. Effectiveness on a big scale is still difficult to determine (e.g., a reduction in the number of school dropouts, and ultimately, a reduction in urban unemployment), but existing programs have increased the likelihood that a significant number of inner city youth will seek additional training and find meaningful work.

In-house career education programs, like those at Aetna and First Pennsylvania, are effective to the extent that they make employees more productive and satisfied on the job. Enhancing both professional and personal skills certainly fosters more effective participation in workplace decisionmaking, as well as helping certain types of employees (e.g., minorities and women) to overcome past barriers to effective participation.

Economic Education: Economic education programs are not new to American corporations. Business leaders have supported economic education programs because they believed that business, ultimately, would benefit in at least two ways: (1) an informed public would not allow Government to intrude into areas of traditional business operations in a manner which would be harmful to the free enterprise system; and (2) an educated public would have more confidence in the integrity of business leaders and business itself. Such confidence would be "insurance" against excessive Government regulation and interference.

The current climate of public opinion, however, indicates that these efforts have not been completely successful. Many critics of corporate-sponsored, economic education programs have challenged the validity of the entire concept. "Past efforts of American business to educate the public about the economy and the free enterprise system," claims Richard Robertson, writing for the University of Michigan Business Review, "can be ranked as one of the most spectacular marketing disasters of recent years."17/

Advocates of business-sponsored economic education programs respond that public attitudes would be more negative if such programs did not exist. Most corporations, they claim, have become involved with economic education just recently and they expect results too fast. Dr. Michael A. MacDowell, president of the Joint Council on Economic Education, states that many programs fail because they are not honest educational efforts but simply corporate advertising.

It would be an understatement to conclude that very little is agreed upon when it comes to the issue of economic education and public attitudes toward business. However, two facts should be considered during any discussion of the topic: (1) there is no factual evidence which demonstrates a relationship between economic "literacy" and attitudes toward business; and (2) most Americans have an inadequate understanding of economics.

These facts might discourage many business executives from establishing economic education programs. However, the advocates of such program efforts offer one argument which is persuasive: It's better to be dealing with an educated public than one which is economically illiterate. On this issue, many corporations have adopted an attitude that contradicts the adage "what you don't know won't hurt you." It is their belief that what the public doesn't know about business can hurt business. Therefore, they have created the kinds of programs discussed in this report to promote economic education.

INDIVIDUAL OBSERVATIONS

The role of American business in the process of citizenship education is not one which can be defined easily. There are no "right" programs or universal models for involvement. Therefore, it would be misleading if this paper were to attempt to conclude with a list of rules. There are none of which we are aware.

The most valuable information comes from those working professionals in the field. What follows are their unattributed observations about the benefits of business participation in the process of citizenship education.

1. The public must understand that business isn't a monolithic entity. It is complex. It comes in all shapes and sizes. This must be understood when shaping policy to influence business.

2. By working in this area (citizenship education) business has the oportunity to work closer and develop new relationships with other sectors of society. This can't help but be good for us, all of us, in the long run.

3. Voluntary organizations provide vital services which benefit the whole community. They do this better, and at less cost, than Government-run

programs and we must support them. Very often this support involves a lot more than just writing a check.

4. The more that employees know about the company -- how it's run, how it's doing, what its problems are -- the more understanding they are, the more loyal, all of that. They're just better workers.

5. If more people participate in the political system not only can we live with the decision, but we'll probably like it, if they're informed people.

6. These programs bring you into closer contact with employees and the community. They recreate some trust between employees and the management of the corporation. This gave us a chance to pull unions, management, and employees together to discuss and work on things which are not involved with the company.

7. Each employee is a public representative of the company. Employees to a great extent, determine what other people think of them and the rules they have to work within. If you can't convince your employees, you don't have any hope for the public.

8. We must broaden the defense of capitalism beyond the proof of its economic benefits. We must emphasize its humane dimensions, ones which no other economic system can deliver: freedom, individuality, human dignity, and the inherent stimulus to creative activity.

NOTES

1. "Refusal of Many to Heed Government Health Advice is Linked to Growing Distrust of Authority," New York Times, June 12, 1977, p. 55

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. "The Business System and Economic Illiteracy," University of Michigan Business Review, Summer, 1976, p. 1

5. "Government Intervention," Business Week, April 4, 1977, p. 42

6. "Think Small: The Key to Economic Education," University of Michigan Business Review, 1976, p. 1

7. "The Wall Street Dropouts," New York Times, November 30, 1977, op-ed page.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. George C. Lodge, "The New American Ideology," New York: Knopf, 1976

12. Journal of Contemporary Business IV, No. 3, Summer 1975, p. 107

13. "On Economic Education," Wall Street Journal, February 18, 1976, op-ed page.

14. "Small Business Speaks," Enterprise, October 1977, p. 17

15. "Tackling Public's Mistrust of Business, " New York Times, November 30, 1977

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16. "How to Get on Target," Enterprise, October 1977, p. 14

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX D
COMMENTARIES
Arthur L. Fox II

The first half of the union report describes unions and the role they play in assisting their members to develop "civic competencies" in a largely idealized, or theoretical world. The second half is devoted to recommendations for various educational projects with an emphasis upon substantial financial assistance from the Federal Government. Inasmuch as the authors of the report and the conference participants were heavily weighted in favor of educators whose specialty is labor and worker education and who would, therefore, have the most to gain by expanded Government interest in worker education, one need be circumspect in evaluating their recommendations.

Undoubtedly, union leaders are, themselves, interested in developing their own competencies. Inasmuch as the primary role of a union is to engage in collective bargaining, or contract negotiation and enforcement, union officials are principally interested in developing and improving their bargaining skills. Union officers are only secondarily concerned about the public sector, and even then, their principal focus is upon the legislative and administrative processes of Government that affect their rank-and-file constituents. And, although there have been a number of welcome exceptions, unions have done very little indeed to educate their members.

One must break down the theoretical model of a union described in the report. In the first place, it is important to recognize that union officials place the highest value upon the union institution. Without a financially healthy institution representing as many workers as possible, nothing else is generally considered to be possible. Hence, a smoothly run organization with a competent and respected administration is highly valued. This attitude is, however,

antithetical in many respects to membership education, as we shall see in a few moments.

First, it is important to dispel several other myths concerning the relationship between workers and their bosses so that we may place the union in its exact role in the so-called process of "industrial democracy." In the absence of unions or some other process of worker representation before management, it is entirely true that the relationship between workers and their bosses is essentially autocratic. Corporate managers and their supervisory structure range from benevolent dictators to absolute tyrants. However, collective bargaining has not transformed the workplace to one that is "constitutional and democratic." Workers do not share "equal responsibliity for making and administering the rules by which they work."

In the first place, workers do not generally organize themselves; they are organized by professional union organizers -- albeit willingly in most instances. So far, the workers have acquired few political or citizenship skills by virtue of their organization cards. The next step is for the union officials to negotiate a contract establishing improved wages, hours, and working conditions for the workers. Only a few unions make any real effort to include the workers in this process, from developing contract priorities, through negotiation, to ratification. The union, on behalf of its members, seeks to pry from management an agreement to relinquish as many of its heretofore autocratic prerogatives as the union can secure with its economic clout. Management inevitably resists. This is hardly a "legislative" process where the majority vote prevails.

Once a collective bargaining agreement has been secured, workers do precious little to administer it. Management almost invariably construes the agreement in the first instance on a day to day basis as different provisions come into play. And, management invariably construes its responsibilities narrowly. When workers take initiatives to press management to

honor contractual commitments or to adopt broader constructions, they invite employer animus and, frequently, retaliation. At this point, it becomes the job of the union to try to remedy the problem, if it can, by processing grievances. Or, it may fall upon some Government agency to prosecute the employer for some statutory violation and secure relief for the affected employees, if it can. Neither succeeds all the time and aggressive workers live in a perpetual state of fear. Even when they are right, management has the capacity to mete out reprisals for which there is no real remedy. As a result, there are very powerful incentives built into the employer-employee relationship to refrain from developing and exercising "citizenship" skills in the so-called industrial democracy even to the extent workers may be afforded the opportunity by their unions.

But, do unions give their members the opportunity or encourage them to exercise citizen responsibilities in the workplace? Many do not. Before a member can be expected to insist upon, or exercise, his rights, whether accorded by a statute or contract, he must know what they are. Management can certainly be counted upon to be conspicuously silent. Amazingly, many unions do little more to educate their members about their rights. Although the reasons are complex and varied, they undoubtedly include the fact that the more active the members are, the more active the union officers must be. Members who are familiar with, and insist upon, their rights vis a vis management, have problems, lots of them. Union officals are under a legal "duty of fair representation" to make a reasonable effort to solve these problems and assist their members to secure their rights. At the same time, unions are generally understaffed and the officers are by no means eager to solicit more work than they can handle.

Union officers are even less enthusiastic about informing their members how to participate effectively in the internal governing processes of the union.

Some say that the monthly membership meetings are intentionally made as boring as possible to discourage attendance. In any event, it is true that no more than 3 to 5 percent of the members attend meetings on a regular basis and the meetings do generally involve inconsequential matters relating to the mundane business affairs of the local. And, when members do get interested in the process of union government, the officers often treat them as potential challengers and seek actively to suppress their activities.

The Landrum-Griffith Act, enacted in 1959, contains a "Bill of Right of Union Members," including traditional rights to free speech and assembly, and the right to elect their officers. The Act also contains a provision requiring unions to inform their members of their rights to govern their unions democratically. No major American union has a systematic program for complying with this provision and many union officers have gone out of their way to prevent their members from learning about, much less exercising, their rights. Indeed, the union movement strenuously resisted enactment of the law, claiming that it was the work of communists and capitalists, alike, who had joined in a conspiracy to destroy the union institution. And, while most union officials have since learned to live with the law, their basic attitudes have not changed.

Internal union democracy is most assuredly a myth in this country. Union members are exposed to only that information their officials wish them to know. They are "educated" through various union publications controlled by their incumbent officals. There is no "free press" within unions. Union constitutions and bylaws are drafted by lawyers at the behest of incumbent officials. The rank and file do not have access to their own lawyers. Union publications and union lawyers are paid for with the members' dues.

If members wish to criticize their officials

or to obtain a legal opinion about their governing charters, they must do so with their own funds. And when a member does manage to master Robert's Rules and figure out his bylaws, with no help from the union, he may find that he is no longer employable. It is a sad irony that where unions have ceased to represent their members, they have acquired staunch allies with management which can always arrange to do without the services of union activists who wish to unseat the incumbent officials. For the worker, union democracy is a luxury; a job is a necessity.

Although unions as a whole actively discourage citizenship activities among their members vis a vis union government, and frequently do little to encourage such activities at the workplace, they do frequently encourage their members to participate actively in the political community. As noted in the report, it is true that unions often promote membership participation in community programs from blood banks to little league. And, it is quite true that union officers do participate frequently on the board of various community and political organizations to assure that their consitutents' interests are promoted. But, it is important to recall that union officials are typically concerned first about the union as an institution, then about the welfare of their members, and finally about the welfare of the entire political community.

Educational Recommendations

Before one devises a program for educating workers, one must focus more clearly than did the authors of the report upon the educational needs and desires of workers. For any educational program to succeed, the students must be genuinely interested in astronomy or English literature. Not that many more are interested in political science, business, or even union or industrial history. They are interested in learning how to solve their immediate problems.

Workers are most interested in workplace rights. They are most eager to learn about their contract rights and about safety and health regulations. Their own jobs, their personal health and safety, their families are centerstage in the minds of workers. If a worker is fired or laid off he wants to know how to secure employment and he may well want to learn a new trade.

Union members are often interested in learning about their rights vis a vis their unions and how they can participate in the process of governing their organizations. And those workers who do seriously entertain the hope of running for, and getting elected to, union office are often interested in acquiring the collective bargaining and business skills they will need both to stage a successful campaign and subsequently to run the union should they be elected.

For the reasons we have already discussed, unions have a very limited interest in educating their members and they can be counted upon to assist only in certain subject areas. While one of the most critical forms of education may be job retraining, unions probably cannot be counted upon to undertake even this form of worker education due to the fact most unions are organized along craft lines and such education would frequently take the form of teaching a member how to qualify to join a different craft, and a different union. Although the maritime unions do train potential employees, the typographical unions are not, for example, retraining their members to perform other jobs.

However, while many union officials may not be inclined to initiate educational programs for their members, they may be willing to cooperate with educators to help make them available to their members provided the programs do not represent a possible threat to their longevity in office. Union meetings could become entertaining if outside speakers were invited to discuss topics of interest to the membership. The union hall is the best place to begin

certain educational programs.

Counseling programs would provide workers with a means of identifying their problems which have created an appetite for information, and a means of locating the educational program providing such information.

To the extent possible, employers should be the primary source of funding for worker educational programs rather than the Federal Government. Management will have to assist in one capacity or another -- for example, to provide workers with flexible schedules to permit them to attend classes or lectures -- and management can be counted upon to be more willing to participate if it is paying the bills. Industry should also be encouraged, or even required, to foot the bill for retraining workers who are dislocated by industry, yet who can ultimately become an asset to industry.

The Federal Government should undertake to provide workers only with those kinds of educational opportunities neither industry nor unions are likely to be willing to provide workers. The Government should, however, be mindful to design only those programs which workers really need and seek, not those which some educators think it might be nice to offer. Again, unless the student is motivated, the educational opportunity is a waste. Certainly, if given the opportunity to sit in a classroom instead of in front of a drill press, most workers would opt for the change of scenery. Whether either they or society would be the better for it is, however, doubtful.

Sheila Harty

Business' involvement in citizenship education, as in consumer education and other public assistance efforts, is a strategy of enlightened self-interest. Socially responsibe efforts are well-reasoned public relations which enhance the corporate image for long range profit returns. Given this mercantile motive, business is doing its business.

Thus we see corporations encouraging employees to involve themselves in social action volunteerism; providing budget and product information to help families plan their consumption; and consulting non-profit organizations on further urban development. In addition, economic education lays their defense for tax subsidies and against alleged costs of regulatory standards. And citizenship education, which teaches responsibility for legislative effects, skirts regulations on direct lobbying.

"From this perspective, corporate social responsibility becomes a defensive strategy to be employed whenever the social and political climate becomes hostile to the active pursuit of corporate economic goals." (p. 117, Ken Neubeck,"Corporate Response to Urban Crisis,"D.C. Heath, 1974) Corporations must act beyond their organizational boundaries when the problems of society bear on their profits and growth. When the environment in which corporations must operate is not supportive or congenial, they must remold it nearer to the heart's desire.

Beyond the politics of giving, fiscal rewards through tax deductions spur such gratuitous gestures. Corporations admit having the means to underwrite education and social action initiatives. The absence of other prospective sponsors, however, speaks to an inequity in our economic system. Business giving, nevertheless, has not approached the 5 percent level of corporate net income exempted from taxation by the Internal Revenue Act since 1935.

According to this essay, the business community claims a "right to be involved in the education process" because they are employers in the community. But education standards aim higher than marketing employable graduates. Their difference of purpose is reason for keeping education and business separate. Corporations' "rights" within education come only as citizens and taxpayers. Given the high incidence of tax subsidies, and illegal tax shelters, corporate America has other civic duties to undertake. The payment of corporate taxes in full would be support enough to enable educational programs to exist at top quality and capacity without direct business sponsorship. But, as conceded here, companies are "not willing to relinquish the payoff of public recognition."

Rather than cite statistics on the public's attitudes as indication of business' fallen esteem, incidents of corporate crime show better primary cause. Government regulation is caused not by the public's mistrust of business but by other reasons: irresponsible technology, price fixing, regulatory violations, market monopolies, industrial pollution, and toxic products and byproducts.

Economic ignorance also is not the basis for ethical indictments about corporate responsibility. Confidence and trust in the integrity of a system comes not from conceptual knowledge about the system, but from observation of the practical workings of that system.

Changing public opinion as "insurance" against Government regulation is a misplaced bandaid. Standards of ethical conduct, quality control, and occupational health and safety would be better "insurance." The obligations of business to produce quality goods and services, just employment, and a fair dividend to stockholders need to be satisfied. Until then, extracurricular activities are not only inappropriate but an irresponsible escape from

direct obligations.

Economic Education

Judging by existing corporate educational materials, economic education taught by corporate America is likely to exclude economic subjects of considerable importance. Cooperatives and unions, appropriate topics within both economic and citizenship education, are usually neglected. Yet both unions and cooperatives are growing aspects of our working economy and are alternative ways of organizing and using economic power.

Since the Powell Memorandum to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1971 -- entitled "Attack on American Free Enterprise System," business' response to economic education has been defensive progaganda lacking educational objectivity. The subject is self-serving. Business sponsors should bow out for "conflict of interest."

Sponsors of economic education materials, at least, need to properly identify their vested interests. As with good scholarship, the perspective of the primary source is significant. We need the label not just of the familiar local subsidiary to weigh the remarks, but of the parent company with its monopoly of numerous media and marketing areas. A recent Supreme Court ruling which allowed corporations to expend money to express views on public issues noted:

> identification of the source of advertising may be required as a means of disclosure, so that the people will be able to evaluate the arguments to which they are being subjected. (46 u.S. L. W. 4371, 4371, 4378, n. 32 (1978)

Although some corporate economic education is presented as only "a useful component of a comprehensive economic education program," further

openness is not sought. Overworked teachers with time and budget constraints do not seek beyond these free multi-media packages. Therefore, the admitted reservations that these materials are "a bit simplistic" and "essentially positive in their orientation" become an inadequacy and a failing.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education efforts seems equally outlandish sponsored by an executive management group substantially sh[illegible]ded from shareholder accountability. Shareholders ought to be informed of these company efforts in their annual report. Perhaps their observations on the company's internal political process would cause some comment or objection by comparison.

With management choosing boards of directors, controlling proxy machinery, and forming interlocking directorates, it seems unsuitable for corporate America to parade itself as a role model in an educational environment which is supposed to teach children some principles of democracy. Excessively restrictive financial and social impact disclosures, along with retaliation against whistleblowers who report company violations of law, add evidence that corporate teachers lack credentials and credibility.

Reasons cited for failure of corporate education efforts could be solved by good curriculum development. Professionals already skilled in the educational process are numerous. They would not have failed "to know the needs of the intended audience" or "to test each program before it is fully implemented," as this essay recommends.

How does J.C. Penney presume to jump its retail credentials into an expertise in "human development," "family life," "nutrition," and "housing?" Professional credentials are a protection to consumers against quackery and fraud and an assurance

of quality standards. We should expect truth from educators and goods from retailers. Each area must maintain its integrity.

In citizenship and economic education, we need to be wary of the corporate materialistic view of the individual as "manpower" developed for its value to the company. This operational policy will be devastating to social and educational theory. Neil Chamberlain, in his book "The Limits of Corporate Responsibility" (Basic Books, 1973, p. 114), warns that "The corporation's effect on education has been to drain it of its moral quality and to fill it with functional utility. This is the basis for a strong economy but not a great society."

Rejoinder by John R. MacKenzie

The edited version of the paper, "The Union Role in Citizen Education," fairly represents the conclusions of the workshop participants, the majority of whom were university and union labor educators -- professors and specialists. The workship provided the participants with the opportunity to examine for the first time in recent years, the roles of unions in citizen education. The workship focus was twofold: first, to provide a framework within which to consider the topic; and second, to examine the unions' past and present roles in citizen education and to look toward their future needs in this area. Full explanations of citizenship within the internal structure of unions or within the workplace were not attempted. Nor did the participants discuss the scope of labor education as it relates to citizenship functions within unions and universities and colleges, or the very limited educational opportunities available to workers.

The latter omission may have confused the reviewers (particularly Fox and Glaser, neither of whom is a specialist on the trade union as an institution or on its functions) and later the readers. Therefore a brief discussion of the scope of labor education may help provide a perspective for the reader of the paper.

Labor education is the term applied to noncredit, nonvocational education which, because of current needs, is directed toward the leadership of trade unions. Unions provide about 25 percent of the education and universities about 70 percent (either alone or in conjunction with unions). The remaining 5 percent is split among a variety of agencies, organizations, churches, etc. Of the 213 national and international associations that represent workers in the United States and Canada only about 25 percent of them have been able to establish ongoing education programs and departments. Universities and colleges, despite recent growth, have been able to establish state wide labor education programs only

in 26 States and Puerto Rico. There are 44 university and college labor education programs in the United States.

Labor education today is leadership education, due primarily to the demand brought on by the institutional developments within trade unions, the growth of public employee unionism, the union electoral process, and many new complex laws that affect the unions, the workers, and the workplace relationship. It has been estimated that annually, leadership education fails to reach 10 percent of the national union leadership (including their locals) or of the union leadership within a single State.

The education of the so-called rank and file has had to wait, not because of design, negligence, or lack of demand, but because leadership education needs are not being met.

Those who criticize the unions' leadership for failing to educate their members about various rights should also be aware that the leadership in most instances has not had this education. It ill behooves the critics to attack unions for not supplying educational opportunity to their members and then oppose the unions' attempt to obtain funds to provide education for their members. In fairness, they cannot have it both ways.

Most of the workshop's recommendations were based on the fact that the leadership demand is not being met and that much of the increased demand stems from the passage of State laws permitting union organization of public employees and new Federal laws governing the union and the union-employer relationship.

The passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959, to cite one example in some detail, provided workers with a "bill of rights" and gave the U. S. Department of Labor the authority to enforce these rights in all

major union institutional elections (local, regional and national unions). The law governs union nominations and elections, union constitutional amendments, and dues increases. Union constitutions can only be amended by a membership secret ballot after the proposed amendment has been provided to the membership in writing and they have had the opportunity to debate it. Fox's comment on the "myth of union democracy" seems biased and out of place considering the fact that unions are the only nongovernmental organization that has law that sets forth a bill of rights for union members. A branch of the Federal Government stands ready to enforce these rights. Unions alone among societal institutions are subject to Government controls or oversight over their internal election procedures. The unions object to this believing that their record of internal democracy is far better or equal to that of other organizations. Despite unions' dislike at being singled out for punitive purposes as well as for curative purposes, they have abided by the law.

The arguments that unions do not adequately inform their membership of their rights under this act and other Congressional acts such as the Occupational Safety and Health Act, the Employees Retirement Income Security Act, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and amendments to older acts such as the Fair Labor Standards Act is quite true, but the criticism is misdirected.

As I noted earlier, unions do not have the funding capability to educate their members adequately alone or in conjunction with universities and colleges. The cost of education is prohibitive for the vast majority of unions that must rely on dues as their sole source of income. Unions do not sell things, produce things, charge fees for services, buy real estate for resale, or buy stocks and bonds (it should be noted that trust funds for health, welfare, and pension plans may do this but income must remain with the funds,

not the union). Unions can not realize a tax advantage for their education programs as do business and industry and the professions. Unions dues must bear the total cost of administering the union, conducting collective bargaining, strikes, arbitrations, organization drives, and legislative and political programs. All of the above have a higher priority in the member's eyes than does education; elected union officers know this.

The cost of education for national unions includes not only the educational cost but the cost of loss of time for their members must be added in and cannot be written off. Many unionists that attend university labor education programs take vacation or other authorized leaves to attend long-term programs. This is a major individual contribution as well as a family contribution in many cases.

The labor educators that took part in the workshop felt that the funding responsibility for labor education should be shared by the federal government because new, complex Federal laws increase the knowledge requirement of workers and their representatives. The labor educators supported the Federal funding going to the States though the public postsecondary land grant institutions (the workers cannot afford private postsecondary institutions nor they the workers). The land grant universities have the experience, and they can assure educational standards and programs free of internal union politics. The funding through the States would permit educational programing based on the composition of the work force within each State.

In closing this discussion of labor education, its scope, costs, and future needs, I think I should point out that workers have not been served educationally by Government programs nor by postsecondary adult and continuing education. This may come as a surprise to Mr. Glaser and others but the U. S. Government programs that serve the disadvantaged

rarely serve the organized workers. Adult and continuing education serve the needs of the already educated upper middle class, not the adult workers.

Labor education is not seeking advantage but a measure of educational equality, the opportunity to work within our increasingly complex scientific, technological society, where workers understand their institutional rights, their job rights, and their roles as citizens within their community, State, Nation, and world.

When one visits our great public universities and colleges one has little or no difficulty finding the schools and colleges of business, education, engineering, law, medicine, public administration, etc. All are funded in part with the workers' tax dollars. The workers are looking for educational opportunity for their organizational needs and themselves just as other groups have done in the past.

I would like to comment on certain statements in the Fox paper. First, Mr. Fox quarrels definitionally with terms "constitutional and democratic" and suggests workers do not share in the development and administration of rules. Apparently he is not aware of the content of collective agreement or what it modifies. The agreement basically covers union security, workers' security, wages, hours, working conditions, fringe benefits, grievance procedures, and arbitration. Through the negotiation process, workers and management determine these provisions. Once the agreement is ratified by both workers and management, the rules are in effect for the agreed-to term of the contract.

I would have some difficulty as would the National Labor Relations Board with Mr. Fox's cavalier comments on how workers organize. The signing of the union authorization card is only the first step. The workers, in the vast majority of cases, have to go through an election campaign with the union on one side and the company on the other. This campaign usually ends

in a U. S. Government-conducted election to determine whether the workers want a union. The consequences here can be very direct and devastating in a anti-union company. If the union wins, the workers may well be fired or harassed into quitting. The decision to organize a union and to go through a union organizing campaign is one of the best examples of direct democracy. The role of the union organizer is similar to that of political functionary whose role is to obtain the vote for his party.

Mr. Fox then concerns himself with how workers know their rights within the shop and within their union. All unions to my knowledge supply their members with copies of their collective bargaining agreement and with copies of their local union's constitutions and bylaws. National and international union constitutions are usually made available at local union halls and by request of a national union. Constitutional changes that come about through convention action are usually published in the unions' international newspaper that is sent to each member's home.

I've previously touched on Mr. Fox's allegation of myth and I only want to add unions are not States, counties, or cities and the standards that he seems to be judging unions by are the political standards of the State or the city. Mr. Fox cannot have been involved in local union politics or he would know that it can be rough and personal, and that the contending parties fight very hard for the majority vote of workers. And it is well to point out that incumbents are often turned out of office by the electorate. Union officers who want to stay in office do so because they have learned to represent their members' interest vis-a-vis the employer.

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